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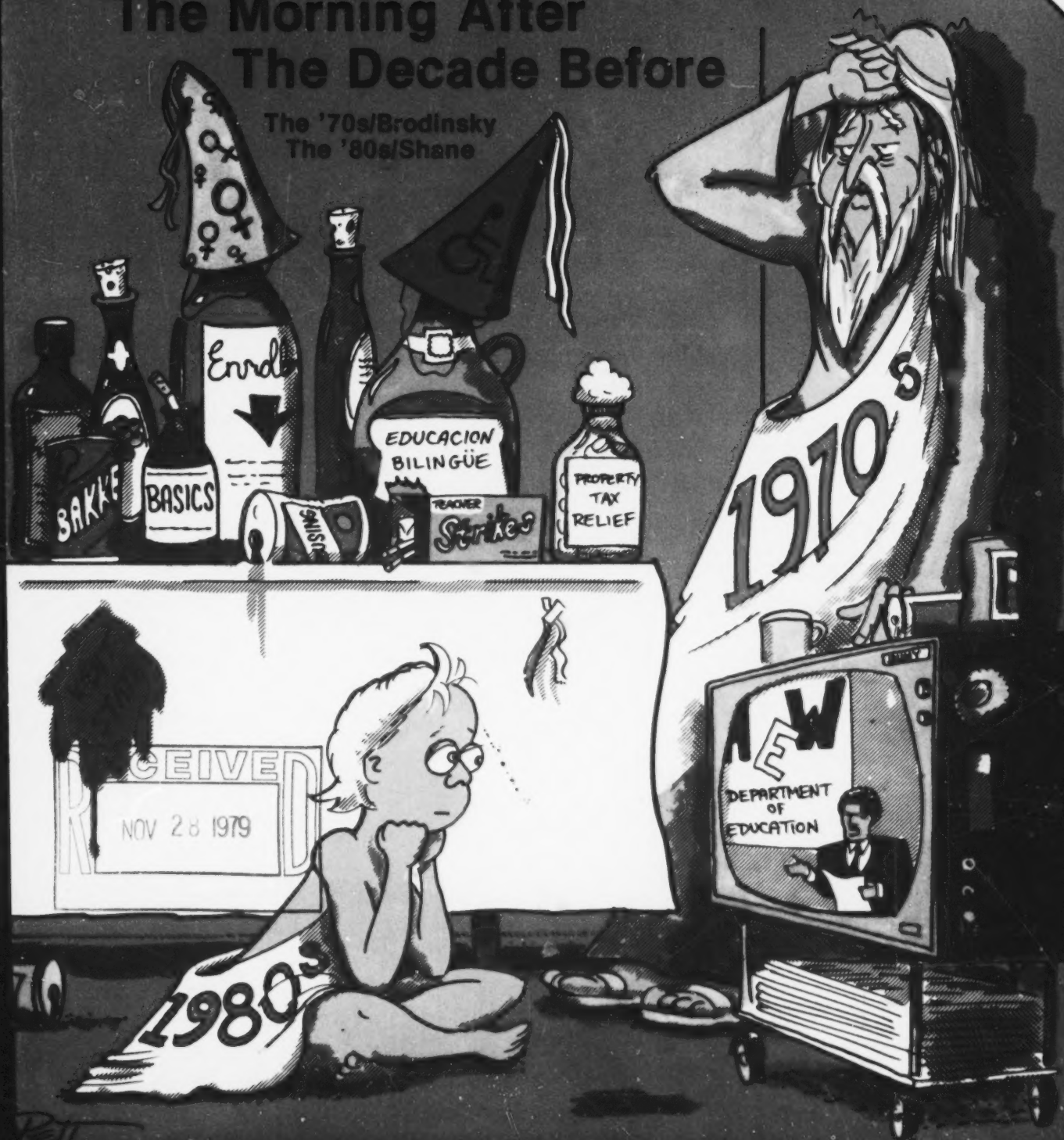
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KAPPAN

'Smart Pill'
In the Offing?
(Page 264)

The Morning After The Decade Before

The '70s/Brodinsky
The '80s/Shane



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A Study of Schooling: Curriculum

by M. Frances Klein, Kenneth A. Tye, and Joyce E. Wright

A three-dimensional framework evolved as Goodlad and his associates sought to understand the different aspects of curriculum that are the focus of this second article in a four-part series.

This is the second in a series of four articles describing "A Study of Schooling" directed by John Goodlad. The first article, which appeared in the November *Kappan*, discussed the background, rationale, and methodology of the study. This article focuses on its curricular aspects. It will be followed in January and February by separate reports on the experiences of the students and the adults in the schools studied.

The Guiding Framework

The neat, carefully drawn framework in Figure 1 masks the difficulties and dilemmas we experienced as we began to develop a conceptualization of curriculum to guide our research efforts. This framework evolved over months of effort and several revisions. Gradually, we came to rely upon it as a comprehensive way to conceptualize curriculum.

The framework has three basic dimensions: First, there are the five important

perspectives of curriculum that we thought should be studied (Dimension A in Figure 1): the *ideal*—the scholar's view of what ought to be; the *formal*—the expectations and values about education and curriculum of those interested and concerned people outside the classroom; the *instructional*—the teacher's beliefs, attitudes, and values about curriculum; the *operational*—the curriculum being implemented in the classroom as seen by a trained observer; and the *experiential*—the curriculum which the student experiences. We shall return to these later and give a more detailed explanation of each perspective.¹

Second, we identified nine *commonplaces* thought to be essential to the planning and the implementation of curricula: goals and objectives, content, instructional materials, classroom activities, teaching strategies, evaluation, time, space, and grouping (see B in Figure 1). By examining each element across all perspectives, we thought it possible to gain insight into the differences and agreements in expectations, perceptions, and practices as a curriculum moves from a set of intentions to a set of interactions.

Finally, we identified qualitative factors appearing to have a significant effect upon the planning and implementation of curricula (C in Figure 1). For example, we felt that *influence* was one of these factors. We wanted to know by whom and in what ways curricular decisions are influenced. We also thought that *rationale* was an important factor; that is, we hoped to find out why curricular decisions are made. Further, *attitudes* toward the curricular commonplaces seemed important to us, e.g., satisfaction with materials of instruction.

Initially, we were able to use the three-dimensional framework to identify well over 500 curriculum questions to ask of a variety of data sources. Because curriculum items were only a portion of those required by the total study, space and format limitations necessitated including only those questions that were thought to be

important and manageable. However, we attempted to pose identical or similar questions within each of the five perspectives.

Because the perspectives were so essential to the conceptualization and thus to the data collection and subsequent data analyses, we shall elaborate briefly upon each of them.

The ideal curriculum. This curriculum is defined as the beliefs, opinions, and values of the scholars in the disciplines and in schooling regarding what ought to be included in the curriculum and how it ought to be developed. It is an abstraction that may not exist with any degree of consensus from subject area to subject area or from one specialist to another. Many of our final reports will discuss the data that were collected in relation to these "idealized" views. Also, and as previously indicated, many of the decisions about what data to collect during the study were influenced by them. We gathered data on this perspective by reviewing the literature in the field of curriculum.

The formal curriculum. Expectations for what should be done in the school constitute the formal curriculum. They are derived from sources outside the classroom and consist of such things as state or district guidelines, school department syllabi, listings of course offerings, legislative decrees, national curriculum projects (e.g., BSCS or PSSC), commercially prepared learning materials, school board policies, district statements of philosophy, and even demands by community groups or parents for the inclusion or exclusion of specific content.

Most often the formal curriculum consists of written statements about what *should* be done. Also, parts of it reside in the more or less unspoken expectations of people outside the classroom. Formal curriculum data for our study were gathered through the analysis of 1) state and district guidelines provided by state departments and school districts; 2) textbooks and other commercial teaching materials; and 3) questionnaire and interview data from

The authors are all research associates of John I. Goodlad, dean, School of Education, University of California at Los Angeles, and director of the Research Division of I/D/E/A/. M. FRANCES KLEIN is also a professor of education at Pepperdine University. KENNETH A. TYE (UCLA Chapter) is I/D/E/A/ program officer. JOYCE E. WRIGHT is a researcher.

Ten private philanthropic foundations and two major federal agencies have been involved in funding this project: the Danforth, International Paper Company, Jennings, Kettering, Mott, Rockefeller, and Spencer Foundations; the JDR 3rd Fund, the Needmore Fund, and Pedamorphosis, Inc.; the National Institute of Education and the U.S. Office of Education. The project has been conducted administratively under the auspices of the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. (an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, a donor throughout the lifetime of the study). John I. Goodlad is principal investigator. The members of the Advisory Board are Ralph W. Tyler (chairman), Gregory Anrig, Stephen K. Bailey, Lawrence A. Cremin, Arthur Jefferson, and Robert K. Merton.

parents, community organizations, school board members, and school district administrators.

The instructional curriculum. Teachers bring their own values, beliefs, and competencies to bear as they plan their teaching.* Often they adapt the formal curriculum because they perceive that their students have certain unique needs and/or interests. On the other hand, sometimes they attempt to use a given curriculum without regard for the individual differences that exist in their classrooms.

Data pertaining to this perspective of curriculum were obtained from the teachers in the sample. At the junior and senior high school levels, a total of 1,064 teachers at 25 schools and in each of eight subject areas (English/reading/language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, the

servers were present in 1,016 sampled classes, observing and recording curricular events as well as a variety of other interactions. In the 887 secondary classrooms, four 10-minute observations were made in each class on three separate days. In the 129 elementary school classes, there were up to twelve 10-minute observations on each of three days.

We made four kinds of curricular observations in classrooms: 1) the physical environment, including the presence of equipment and materials; 2) the activities of students, including the ways in which they were grouped for instruction; 3) the interactions between teachers and students, including the contexts in which these occurred, i.e., instruction, behavior, routines, social interactions; and 4) a summary statement that included the use of

step is a longitudinal study searching out the connections with achievement indicators. Such a study is long overdue, but at present, in our view, it is premature.²³

We do not claim that our framework with its perspectives, commonplaces, and qualitative factors is the only way or even the best way to study curriculum. However, we do believe that its strength lies in the fact that, unlike guiding frameworks for most curriculum research (which have tended to examine a small number of variables in a large number of schools), it allows us to examine a large number of variables and to explore the areas of agreement and discrepancy between curricular intentions and practice.

We believe that the three dimensions of the framework serve as a useful classification scheme for organizing the data and for thinking about curriculum conceptually. However, we realize that our divisions are arbitrary and that as data are analyzed and interpreted and as interrelationships between variables are pursued, these divisions can become less obvious. We also realize that curricula are planned and implemented within the context of other significant factors: the physical structure of the school; attitudes of parents, administrators, teachers, and students; schedules; preparation and backgrounds of teachers; beliefs about schooling; problems confronted; and resources. A major strength of the study is its comprehensiveness, which allows for the description of each component in relation to a variety of relevant contextual variables. For example, in January we shall demonstrate how curriculum data relate to student experiences in school.

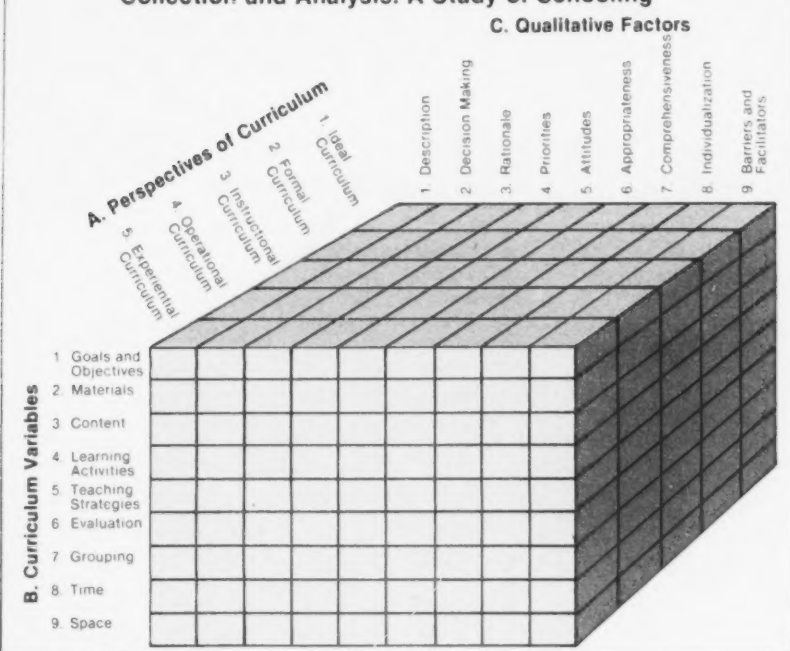
Examples of Data

The data reported below are only a very small subset of those that will ultimately be available. For example, few observation data are included. They were chosen to exemplify what is to come and to demonstrate the value of using the different perspectives as a procedure in curriculum research.

Goals of schooling. As one aspect of the formal curriculum, we asked parents to rate the importance of four major goals of schooling (intellectual, social, personal, vocational).⁴ As part of the instructional curriculum and experiential curriculum, teachers and students were asked the same questions. All data sources at the secondary schools rated all goals as important. Elementary school parents and teachers rated the vocational goal as slightly less important.

We also asked these data sources to indicate which goal *should* be emphasized most at their school. While there was variation across schools, approximately 50% of parents and teachers said the intellectual goal should be emphasized. Next, parents and teachers said they

Figure 1. Curriculum Conceptual Framework for Data Collection and Analysis: A Study of Schooling



arts, foreign language, physical education, vocational/career education) responded at length to questionnaires about "their" curriculum. At the 13 elementary schools a total of 286 teachers were asked about all subject areas.²

The operational curriculum. This aspect of curriculum is defined as "what actually goes on in the classroom." It takes into account the alterations made in the instructional curriculum as teachers actually engage with students in the teaching-learning process. To gather data on the operational curriculum, trained ob-

materials and equipment and the locus of decision making.

The experiential curriculum. This perspective has two different facets: 1) student perceptions of the curriculum that is offered to them and 2) what is actually learned — student outcomes. The "Study of Schooling" collected a good deal of data from students, using questionnaires containing a number of questions about the curriculum of their classes and about the overall curriculum of the school. Although student outcomes are included as an integral part of the experiential curriculum, it should be noted that the staff made a conscious decision *not* to collect student achievement data. As we explained in the November *Kappan* article, "Once the contextual domain is sufficiently well described, the obvious next

*Originally we called this the "perceived" curriculum because we felt that teachers' perceptions are so significant. However, we realized that *all* perspectives — societal, parental, students', teachers', etc. — are perceptions. Thus we adopted the term "instructional," although we acknowledge its imprecision.

Some 95% of parents say they have no
role in curriculum decisions — but 50% say
they would *like* such a role.

would emphasize personal goals (30% of teachers and 20% of parents), followed by vocational goals (20% of parents and 10% of teachers) and social goals (10% of parents and teachers). Student responses differed considerably. A smaller percentage of students (33%) than adults thought that the intellectual function should be emphasized, and a larger percentage selected the social (15%) and vocational (30%) functions.

While all groups perceived the four goals as important, a greater percentage of parents and teachers expressed a desire for emphasis upon intellectual goals than did students. There was more variation among student preferences.

Since schools are asked to fulfill many goals by many different groups, it seems important for educators to know the extent to which the same or different goals are thought to be important by students, teachers, parents, and significant others such as administrators and board members prior to both the planning and implementing of programs.

Satisfaction with the curriculum. In addition to inquiring into each group's opinions about what schools should be doing, we wanted to know their attitudes toward various curricula (the reader will recall that "attitudes" were defined as a qualitative factor). Thus parents, teachers, and students were all asked questions about their degree of satisfaction with many of the curricular commonplaces. For example, teachers, on the average, reported that they were "mildly satisfied" with areas of teaching and planning defined as setting goals and objectives; use of classroom space; scheduling time use; selecting instructional materials; evaluating students; selecting content, topics, and skills to be taught; grouping students for instruction; selecting teaching techniques; and selecting learning activities. There were no major differences from level to level. Teachers were most satisfied with their selection of content, topics, and skills, and with their selection of teaching techniques. On the average, teachers appeared to be fairly well satisfied with what they do with respect to curriculum.

Students were asked several questions about eight subject areas studied. For example, they were asked to tell how much they liked each one, how important they thought each one was, and how difficult each was perceived to be. More than half the students at each level indicated that

they liked all subjects. Liking of the arts, foreign language, math, and science decreased at the higher levels of schooling. The arts, physical education, and vocational/career education were liked by the largest percentage of students; foreign language, science, and social studies were reported to be liked by the smallest percentage.

A different pattern occurred when students were asked how important each subject is. Again, more than half the students at all levels said all are important. English/reading and math were seen as the most important. At the secondary levels foreign language and physical education were seen as less important and the arts were consistently seen as least important at all levels.

When rating the difficulty of their work in the various subject areas, only a small percentage of students reported their work to be difficult, but these percentages increased at the higher levels of schooling. The arts, physical education, and vocational/career education were reported to be the easiest subjects by secondary students and the arts and physical education the easiest subjects for elementary students. Social studies and math were perceived to be the most difficult subjects by both elementary and secondary students. Foreign languages were also reported as difficult by secondary students.

Approximately 80% of parents sampled said that they were satisfied with the curriculum their schools were providing for their children. Fewer parents were satisfied with what was offered in foreign language. Also, the percentage of parents who indicated satisfaction with the four major academic areas decreased from the elementary level through junior high school and to high school.

These data present a different view of satisfaction with schools than has been presented in much of the current literature on schooling. Although there can be a great deal of variation from school to school, data from this study suggest that, on the average, parents, teachers, and students are fairly well satisfied with the curriculum, at least as they perceive it.

Moreover, the data raise a number of questions on which additional research is needed. Why do students like those subjects they regard as less important? How important is it for students to like what they study? Is what students study chal-

lenging enough? Why does parent satisfaction with what schools are providing decrease at the higher levels of schooling?

Curriculum decision making. To give us some insight into the discrepancy between formal and instructional curricula, teachers were asked to respond to an item that named potential sources of influence on what they teach within a given subject area. Most teachers (over 75%), regardless of subject area taught or level of schooling, responded that two sources significantly influence what they teach: 1) their own background, interests, and experiences, and 2) student interests and abilities. They also responded that four sources have very limited or no influence: 1) district consultants, 2) parent advisory councils, 3) state equivalency exams, and 4) teachers unions. There were some interesting variations across subject areas. For example, foreign language teachers reported that texts and other commercial materials have a high degree of influence. Elementary teachers appear to be more influenced by external sources than do secondary teachers. A surprise was the relatively low level of influence perceived by teachers for state and district guides, district consultants, commercially prepared materials, and even textbooks. Perhaps the amount of time and money spent on such sources is questionable. On the other hand, the problem may be one of communication — making such sources available and useful to teachers.

Interestingly, and still at the formal level, approximately 95% of the parents surveyed indicated that they do not advise or help make decisions about what or how subjects are taught or about what textbooks or learning materials are used. However, nearly 50% indicated that they would like to. Whether they should is another question, one that should be clarified, in light of today's emphasis upon parent participation.

At the instructional level, we asked teachers how much control they felt they have over their planning and teaching. At all levels, they reported "a lot" of control over all curricular commonplaces: setting goals and objectives; using classroom space; scheduling time; evaluating students; selecting content, topics, and skills to be taught and grouping students for instruction; selecting teaching techniques; and selecting learning activities.

Asked about their own experiences in specific classes, secondary students in-

dictated that they are not able to make many decisions about their schoolwork. Elementary students reported the same, but the trend was not as strong. More than half the students at each level reported a desire to have more control over what they do in their classes; this trend was stronger at the elementary level. One might ask if elementary students really do have more choices or if it is just easier to make them believe they do. Likewise, it is possible that students become more resigned to having no influence regarding schoolwork as they progress through school and become less desirous of being involved in selecting what they are to do.

In summary, a picture emerged wherein teachers were influenced mostly by their own experience, perceived a high level of control over their own planning and teaching, and were satisfied with that planning and teaching. Also, both parents and students did not perceive that they had much involvement in curriculum decisions. The overall impression is of a system in which teachers make most or all decisions at the classroom level. If such findings are true of schools in general, it would seem desirable to open up this system by building structures that would put teachers into much more communication with other sources of information about curricular practices so that new ideas could be examined and subsequently adapted for use. This may well be the most critical factor in any effort to improve schooling.

The use of time. Much attention has been directed to how time is used in schools and in classrooms. Few formal curricular sources examined as part of this study (e.g., guides, syllabi) prescribed specific classroom allocation of time. We asked teachers and students about the relative amounts of time spent on instruction, monitoring of student behavior, and attending to classroom routine. Additionally, observers recorded the time spent on these three types of activities.

Teacher perceptions and observer estimates were strikingly similar. On the average, teachers at each level of schooling reported that about 70% of class time is spent on instruction. Observers estimated that figure to be about 75% across classes. Also, reports of time spent on classroom routine were similar, with teachers at all levels saying about 13% and observers estimating about 20%. Reports of time spent on monitoring student behavior were different for teachers and observers. Overall, teachers reported that approximately 12% of their time is spent getting students to behave; observers estimated only approximately 4%.

Students were also asked to rate the relative amounts of time spent on instruction, routines, and dealing with student behavior. At all levels, they perceived instruction as taking the most time; behavior was rated as taking more time than

routines. All data sources — teachers, observers, and students — reported more time spent on instruction and less time spent on behavior at each successive level of schooling — elementary, junior high, and senior high.

Let us emphasize that these findings were averages over all responses. Considerable variation was found between classes, within schools, and across schools. Finally, it should be noted that while the amount of time spent on instruction seems surprisingly high, these findings do not speak for the type of instruction that occurs during that time.

Appropriateness of the curriculum. We asked teachers how appropriate they perceived aspects of their curricula to be for their students in relation to student abilities, ethnicity, and interests. Teachers at all levels reported that materials and content in their subject areas are appropriate for about 75% of their students, according to our three criteria. There were interesting variations across schools and levels of schooling. Frequently, for all subjects and at all levels, teachers in schools serving predominantly Hispanic or black students reported that materials and content are appropriate for only about 50% of the students in their classes. This negative trend was stronger for schools serving Hispanic students. Teachers in schools serving predominantly white students reported that materials and content are appropriate for nearly all students on the criteria of ability and ethnicity, but not on the criterion of interest. On the average, elementary teachers reported that materials and content are more appropriate in terms of student ability and interest and less appropriate in terms of student ethnicity than did secondary teachers. Our data support the belief that materials appropriate for minority students are not as available or known by teachers as might be desired.

Individualization of instruction. Many formal curriculum documents that were

examined expressed a need for teachers to individualize instruction.

We asked teachers what percentage of time they individualize a student's curriculum by varying curricular elements. We also asked what types of information they use to make decisions regarding individualization. As for means of individualization, variations in teaching methods and activities are most frequently used. Less frequently used are different objectives, content, materials, or grouping. Least frequently used are different time schedules.

Elementary school teachers reported that they individualize instruction more frequently and in more ways than do secondary teachers, and junior high teachers reported more ways of individualizing than those at the senior high schools. Grouping was, on the average, the technique most used. Surprisingly few teachers cited the large array of instructional materials available as a way to individualize. Overall, it appeared that not as much individualization is occurring as has frequently been recommended.

On the average, teachers reported that they usually use their own observations of student performance and the grade level of students as aids in deciding about individualization. They use aptitude test results or student performance and behavior in previous classes infrequently. Elementary teachers reported that they use diagnostic test results "often"; secondary teachers said, "Not very often." Generally, then, teachers tend to rely on their own judgment more than on test results in making decisions about individualizing instruction.

Behavioral objectives. Because of the controversy about behavioral objectives and their assumed importance, we asked teachers for their opinions about them and how they use them. Generally, teachers in our sample believed that behavioral objectives are not very difficult to write, reflect what teachers are trying to do, and are of some help in evaluating student

progress and their own teaching. Only elementary teachers reported that behavioral objectives take too much time to prepare. Given the number of subjects elementary teachers must teach, this is not surprising. Data on this topic showed interesting variations from school to school, within schools, and among subject areas. We expect to explore relationships between teachers' attitudes toward objectives, their professional education, and their other educational beliefs. Teachers in the sample seemed to be somewhat positive about the usefulness of behavioral objectives.

The Future

Data about curriculum presented here are only a very small part of the information we gathered. There are also student, teacher, and observer data that address the question of what activities take place in classrooms, e.g., lecturing, discussion, reading, writing, testing. Teacher questioning strategies and the availability and use of instructional materials were noted by observers. Grouping patterns and use of space were observed, and students were asked about their experience vis-à-vis principles of learning,

e.g., knowledge of objectives, appropriate practice, knowledge of results. We plan to array such data across subject areas, by level of schooling, and across schools. These data, combined with data about classroom interaction patterns (e.g., use of praise by teachers, peer relationships), will give us rich insights into the actual practice of curriculum, and especially the degree of variation from school to school.

Also, the data reported here are largely "marginal" — that is, percentages and mean scores. We plan to examine relationships within these data and between the curriculum data and other contextual data. Such relationships should yield valuable hypotheses to be tested by future researchers interested in curriculum.

Furthermore, we have studied these marginal data *across* schools, by levels of schooling and data sources. Many interesting results may yet be obtained by looking *within* schools at each level, using classes and individuals as units of analysis. Thus we should be able to explore in depth the curricula of each of the 38 schools in the sample. We hope that such an examination will reveal relationships and patterns that will generate insights and questions about the conception, operationalization, and function of

the various curricula. The resulting picture will doubtless be complex, for the curriculum of each school will probably turn out, actually, to be several curricula — formal, instructional, operational, and experiential.

1. The framework is discussed fully in John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein, and Kenneth A. Tye, "The Domains of Curriculum and Their Study," in John I. Goodlad, ed., *Curriculum Inquiry: The Story of Curriculum Practice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979).

2. For a more detailed discussion of the sampling plan, data base, and data collection procedures, see John I. Goodlad, Kenneth A. Sirotnik, and Bette C. Overman, "A Study of Schooling: An Overview," *Phi Delta Kappan*, November 1979, p. 174-78.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177.

4. *Social Development*: instruction that helps students learn to get along with other students and adults, prepares students for social and civic responsibility, develops students' awareness and appreciation of our own and other cultures. *Intellectual Development*: instruction in basic skills in mathematics, reading, written and oral communication, and in critical thinking and problem-solving abilities. *Personal Development*: instruction that builds self-confidence, creativity, ability to think independently, and self-discipline. *Vocational Development*: instruction that prepares students for employment, development of skills necessary for getting a job, development of awareness about career choices and alternatives.

Some Historical Effects of Vocational Education at the Secondary Level

by William G. Conroy, Jr.

Among other things, Mr. Conroy's data constitute a powerful argument that increased earnings are caused by expanded contact with vocational education in the secondary school, and seem to justify increased investment in vo-ed programs.

Since its very beginnings, vocational education has been supported by Congress to provide a supply of labor for specific occupations. The basic criterion for evaluating vo-ed has been consistent through history: "employment related to their training" (Vocational Amendments of 1976, Sec. 112). Accordingly, vocational education at the secondary level selects and prepares students for entry into specific occupations.

For many, the manpower ethic as the single (and legislated) reason for supporting vo-ed is simply too single-minded. It seems particularly questionable for secondary vo-ed, which assumes that students will make a career choice at about age 15. An extralegal rationale for supporting vo-ed in the high school is that it provides other advantages to students and society, some that academic education does not. Students who have experienced vocational education may perform better as workers, whether or not they select an occupation related to their training program in high school. Investments in vo-ed may be investments in human capital in the aggregate, as opposed to the manpower delivery for specific occupations assumed by the present legislation. Some observers suggest that vo-ed is simply more interesting to the nonacademically endowed and ought to be supported, in part, as a dropout prevention program. Both legal and extralegal justifications assume the legitimacy of human resource development as a part of secondary schooling. It is an assumption that seems entirely consistent with the expectations of most students and citizens in the U.S.

In this article I shall describe some of the historical effects of vocational educa-

tion at the secondary level and discuss what we may expect in the future. As part of a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, I organized information from several national longitudinal surveys of education into a single file for analyzing the historical effects of vocational education in the U.S. They include the National Longitudinal Study of the Class of 1972 (NLS/72); Project TALENT; and an ex post facto survey I conducted in Massachusetts.¹ These studies are the basis for the following analysis.

Table 1 shows high school program choice by ability. It also displays the percentage of high school students enrolled in vocational, general academic, and college-preparatory high school programs and the percentage of these students who attended college. Finally, it shows vocational program choices by sex.

Low-ability students are nearly evenly divided between vocational and general academic programs; very few low-ability students selected college-preparatory programs. A plurality of average-ability students selected college-preparatory programs; of the remaining, 24% selected a vocational program and 31% selected a general academic program. Eighty-three percent of high-ability students chose college-preparatory programs.

It is clear that students in U.S. high schools track themselves (or are tracked) into programs on the basis of ability. These decisions influence choices made by students after high school. For example, of the 30% of all high school students enrolled in general academic programs, 66% did not attend college. Only 18% of the high school students who selected vocational programs attended college. Seventy-five percent of the students enrolled in college-prep programs (47% of the overall enrollment) attended college.

That students sort themselves into high school programs with occupational consequences on the basis of their general ability is certain. Many observers argue that this sorting function is consistent with the role of the high school in the U.S.; they assert that the high school has an important responsibility to insure the excellence

of future work forces. Others suggest that schools should be singularly concerned with equality of occupational opportunity among students without regard to the excellence of future work forces. It is not appropriate to debate this important concern here, but I must acknowledge its existence.

Not only have secondary schools tracked students on the basis of scholastic aptitude, they have sorted them within vocational programs by sex (Table 1). Vocational agriculture and trades and industrial programs are populated by boys; health, business, and home economics programs attract mostly girls. Distributive education programs do not sort students by sex. The educational system tends to reflect the reality of the labor force. Many people would like to use vocational education to change the sex composition of the labor force, thus the strong prohibitions against sex discrimination in the Vocational Amendments of 1976 in all programs, including "homemaking."

The legal rationale for supporting vo-ed at the secondary level is based on the manpower ethic; students will be trained for specific occupations, and vocational education will be evaluated on the basis of the percentage of graduates placed in the occupation for which trained. Amazingly, Congress has not mandated data collection at the national level to evaluate vo-ed on this basis.* NLS/72 does not record the specific vocational program in which a student is enrolled, nor does Project TALENT; thus they do not support "work related to training" evaluation. Gerald Somers found in a national survey (1971) that only about 25% of secondary school vo-ed graduates entered the occupation for which trained.² And as young workers

*The U.S. Office of Education has collected self-report follow-up data on secondary school graduates. The reporting is spotty, with no corrections for nonresponse. The survey only treats initial placement during the first year after graduation. It is fair to describe this information as "compliance data," not very credible. Some effort is being made by the National Center for Education Statistics to improve these data, consistent with the Vocational Amendments of 1976.

WILLIAM G. CONROY, JR. (University of Massachusetts Chapter) is associate professor, College of Management Science, University of Lowell, Lowell, Mass. He testified before Congress as an expert witness when the Vocational Amendments of 1976 were being drafted, calling for better longitudinal studies to validate vo-ed appropriations. The National Institute of Education is now conducting a large-scale study for Congress, and it is due in about two years. Mr. Conroy believes it will advance knowledge further than his data permit.

gained experience, they tended to shift from the field of training. Somers concluded that training for a cluster of jobs at the secondary level would be more consistent with reality than current vo-ed programs. The Somers data were self-reported; i.e., students were asked if their first and current jobs were related to their high school training. I conducted a more rigorous study in Massachusetts in 1976. Occupational experiences of former students were reported and coded in a way that permitted direct comparisons with secondary school vocational education programs. The results are consistent with those of Somers (see Table 2). About 27% of all occupational education students take a first job in a field for which they trained; so do 23% of office occupation students and 35% of trades and industrial students and 35% of trades and industrial students who attended postsecondary schools were removed from this analysis; thus these data account for the substantial percentage of vocational students at the secondary school who did not go on to college — over 80% at the national level, according to NLS/72. These data are for six years of labor force experience; thus only about 30% of vocational education students ever obtain a job in the field for which trained in the secondary school.

It is dangerous to generalize from one state to the nation, but in this case the Massachusetts data and the national data are mutually corroborative. If these findings are correct, the legal rationale for supporting vocational education at the secondary level as stipulated by Congress seems inconsistent with reality. Consequently, it is appropriate to examine extralegal results of vocational education at the secondary level.

One of the significant findings of the Massachusetts study has to do with average annual earnings, over a six-year period, of male students who did not attend college. Graduates who took vo-ed in high school had a \$1,380 annual advantage in earnings over nonvocational graduates.* The difference does not hold for Massachusetts girls, however; female vo-ed graduates earn no more than female general academic graduates. The reason may well be low variability in salaries among jobs for noncollege girls, or perhaps the nature of vocational programs for girls in the state is a factor.

Table 3 presents differences in average annual earnings for students in the U.S. as described by NLS/72 during the first year after high school. The average is low because the denominator includes all students who did not attend college, many of whom had no earnings.

The national data support the Massachusetts findings for males, but their annual earnings advantage is only \$177. The

*All dollars are converted to 1975 values throughout this article to facilitate comparisons.

Table 1. Distribution of Students by Scholastic Ability, High School Program, College Attendance, and Sex Within Vocational Programs

Ability and High School Program		Enrollment Distributions by High School Programs		Attended College	
Low Ability	48% General Academic	General Academic	30%	34%	Yes
				66%	No
	11% College Preparatory	College Preparatory	47%	75%	Yes
	41% Vocational			25%	No
Average Ability	31% General Academic	Vocational	23%	18%	Yes
				82%	No
	45% College Preparatory	Vocational Enrollments by Sex and Program			
	24% Vocational	Business	9%	Male	
			91%	Female	
High Ability	11% General Academic				
	83% College Preparatory	Vocational Agriculture	97%	Male	
			3%	Female	
	6% Vocational	Distributive Education	50%	Male	
			50%	Female	
		Health	6%	Male	
			94%	Female	
		Trades and Industry	92%	Male	
			8%	Female	

Source: National Longitudinal Study, Class of 1972, National Center for Education Statistics

difference is greater among women; vocational education graduates enjoy an average advantage of over \$380. This difference could result from national labor market opportunities for women. The significant finding is that all vocational education graduates who do not attend college have an initial earnings advantage in the labor force.

Table 4 is more complex; it presents the differences in earnings by scholastic aptitude for vocational and nonvocational male students who did not attend college. Most nonvocational students would be general academic students; some would be college-preparatory students (see Table 1). During the first year out of high school, the low-aptitude vocational students have the greatest advantage in earnings: \$387 versus \$86 for average-ability students and \$287 for high-ability students. It is interesting to note that the low-ability vocational student earns more than the average-ability nonvocational student, while

Table 2. Percentage of High School Vo-Ed Students Who Worked in Jobs for Which Trained (1969 and 1973 Classes)

	First Job	Second Job	Any Job
All occupations	27%	12%	32%
Office occupations	23%	7%	29%
Trade and industrial	35%	20%	37%

Source: Massachusetts Effects Study

the average-ability vocational student earns nearly as much as the high-ability nonvocational student. For the first year out of high school, vocational education seems to be a compensatory program that actually works. This is probably because

employers hire in a way that minimizes training costs.*

Table 5 presents the earnings of men and women for the fifth and eleventh years out of school; the data are broken down by secondary school program (vocational or nonvocational), sex, and aptitude. Earnings data are presented separately for students who attended college. These data come from Project TALENT. It is important to remember that the income ratio includes all students in the denominator, many of whom have no earnings. Accordingly, the average annual income for males increases as the cohort ages. This is because males join the work force in increasing numbers as the cohort matures and their income grows. Income for females is low because large numbers of them are out of the full-time work force and because many of them fill jobs that pay less than the income earned by men.

All female students who completed vocational programs in secondary school and did not attend college have an earnings advantage in the fifth year out of high school; the greatest advantage is for low- and high-ability females, with differences of more than \$500 per year per student. For males five years out of high school, the advantage of vocational education in the high school seems related to ability; low-ability vocational students are at an earnings disadvantage in comparison with low-ability nonvocational students, but average- and high-ability vocational education students have an earnings advantage; the higher the ability, the greater the advantage.

The low-ability vocational education male students earned the least of all male groups; the high-ability vocational education students earned the most in the five-year follow-up. Five years after high school, ability accounts for an annual earnings differential of more than \$1,800 per student for males who had vocational education in high school; for females the comparable difference is about \$600. For general academic and vocational students, income is positively related to ability at the fifth year out of high school. It seems that vocational education provides an initial earnings advantage for all students during the first year after high school. After five years, males of average and high ability maintain an earnings advantage, as do all girls.

*It is possible that vocational and nonvocational students of similar general ability differ in other background characteristics that influence earnings, such as race and SES; these differences might account for a part of the estimated earnings differences between vocational and nonvocational students. Analysis conducted by the author with NLS/72 data suggests, however, that after controlling for general ability, the differences in race and SES between vocational and nonvocational groups are small. Thus, controlling for race and SES would not significantly reduce the estimated earnings difference between vocational and nonvocational students.

Table 3. Differences, by Sex, In Average Earnings During First Year After High School for 1972 High School Graduates Who Did Not Attend College

Sex	High School Program	
	Vocational	Nonvocational
Male	\$1,902	\$1,725
Female	\$1,024	\$ 638

Source: National Longitudinal Study/1972

Table 4. Differences, by Ability, In Average Earnings During First Year After High School for 1972 Male High School Graduates Who Did Not Attend College

Aptitude	High School Program	
	Vocational	Nonvocational
Low	\$1,868	\$1,481
Average	\$1,916	\$1,830
High	\$2,212	\$1,925

Source: National Longitudinal Study/1972

Although earnings differences are related to vocational education in the secondary school, a full explanation requires more information. It is likely, for example, that vocational boys with low aptitude have an initial advantage in the labor market but tend to get "locked into" low-paying jobs during the first five years, whereas persons with greater ability move into higher-paying jobs, regardless of high school program. The initial advantage of low-ability vocational students argues strongly for vocational education as a meaningful compensatory program. Average-ability vocational students earn more than high-ability nonvocational students; high-ability vocational students have a substantial earnings advantage.

Table 5 simultaneously displays earnings differences for students who were enrolled in vocational and nonvocational programs in high school by sex and ability 11 years after graduation. The data are from Project TALENT. Table 5 also includes earnings of college students 11 years after high school.

Eleven years after high school all low-ability students who enrolled in vo-ed and did not attend college are at an earnings disadvantage in comparison with low-ability students who did not experience vo-ed in high school; low-ability vo-ed

students remain frozen in low-paying jobs. Average- and high-ability boys and girls who enrolled in vo-ed programs in high school earn more in their eleventh year after high school than those who did not. Ability is positively related to earnings for all groups, except for girls who did not elect vocational education in secondary school. Indeed, with the exception of nonvocational girls 11 years out of high school, ability is consistently related to increased earnings, often accounting for greater differences than secondary school programs. For vocational male students 11 years after high school, the annual earnings difference between low- and high-ability groups is more than \$3,000; for vocational females it is \$600. For nonvocational males the income difference between low- and high-ability groups is more than \$2,000. Eleven years after high school, ability differences in earnings are greater than program differences for males. This trend toward ability-generated difference in earnings began in the first year after high school (see Table 4).

That the relationship between earnings and ability does not hold for nonvocational girls is probably related to the fact that many are reentering the labor market and seeking jobs that are minimally demanding, so they can function as workers,

Table 5. Average Annual Earnings for the Fifth and Eleventh Years After High School for 1960 High School Graduates, by High School Program, Aptitude, and Sex

Did Not Attend College High School Program							Attended College
Sex	Aptitude	Vocational		Nonvocational			
Male		5th Yr.	11th Yr.	5th Yr.	11th Yr.	11th Yr.	
	Low	\$3,440	\$ 9,215	\$4,389	\$ 9,982	\$10,088	
	Average	\$4,789	\$11,300	\$4,576	\$10,563	\$11,294	
	High	\$5,254	\$12,320	\$4,736	\$12,148	\$11,882	
Female							
	Low	\$1,950	\$ 1,700	\$1,431	\$ 1,966	\$ 2,577	
	Average	\$1,990	\$ 1,808	\$1,861	\$ 1,402	\$ 3,165	
	High	\$2,549	\$ 2,300	\$1,909	\$ 1,806	\$ 3,783	

Source: Project TALENT

mothers, and homemakers. Male students who attended college do not enjoy a consistent earnings advantage 11 years out of high school. This finding becomes more significant when one calculates the earnings forgone while attending college and the cost of higher education. College attendance for girls increases earnings substantially; probably girls with college experience qualify for a different range of occupations than those who did not attend college.*

Table 6 presents a very powerful argument that increased earnings are caused by expanded contact with vocational education programs while a student is in secondary school. It makes a strong case for more vocational education in the secondary school. In the fifth year out of high school males who have had between 30 and 45 hours of vocational education earn \$520 more per year than those who have only had 0-15 hours; the difference for girls is \$225 per year.

One way to estimate the efficiency of investments in vocational education is to examine the extra costs of vocational education against extra benefits. Care must be taken to differentiate between public and private costs and benefits. A major problem with so-called cost-benefit analysis is that benefits are usually limited to earnings.

Jacob Kaufman reported in 1969 that investments in secondary vocational education should be expanded, based on cost-benefit estimations from three cities in the U.S.³ The recommendation was grounded on the relationship between estimated extra costs of vocational education in comparison with extra earnings of vocational education graduates.

The data reviewed in this study do not

include cost information, but they do include an estimation of earnings differences associated with different secondary school programs. Accordingly, they can suggest some limits for extra investments in vocational education at the secondary level, based on cost-benefit decision rules. In Massachusetts, for example, males in trades and industrial programs earn about \$8,000 more in six years than general academic students. The pattern is different for data summarized at the national level. Analysis at the national level was not as program-specific as for Massachusetts, i.e., trades and industrial programs.

Although the findings reported in this article seem to justify increased investments in secondary vocational education, much remains unexplained. For example, one might wonder about the historical effects of vocational education if all students who did not attend college had been enrolled in vocational education for 30 to 45 hours. It might be argued that such a policy would be inflationary, driving up the cost of labor, unless it could be demonstrated that vocational graduates produce more goods and services. (They are paid more because they produce more.) In that case, the gross national product would increase in proportion to the increase of vocational graduates, other things being equal. That should be generally regarded as a positive result.

More information and analysis are needed before one can make a comprehensive policy recommendation: better cost data, better follow-up data, and more powerful analysis of the data on which this article is based. In spite of such limitations, my analysis strongly suggests that the so-called manpower justification for supporting vocational education at the secondary level does not have historic validity; future investments should be based on a broader foundation.

It would be helpful for the Congress to mandate better longitudinal information about the effects of vocational education at the secondary level.

The finding that nearly 70% of vocational education graduates at the secondary level never work in the field for which trained should not be considered damaging evidence by those who have supported vocational education. For vocational education supporters to charge the "manpower ethic" barricades does not seem to be a rational response. On the assumption that the surveys were carefully conducted and the analysis rigorously performed, future expectations for vocational education at the secondary level should become consistent with reality. The best argument in support of vocational education at the secondary level seems to be its systematic relationship to increased earnings; investments in vocational education are investments in human capital in the aggregate.

The fact that most high school vocational education graduates use their experience to enter and advance in the labor force in a way that maximizes earnings should be a positive finding on behalf of vocational education at the secondary level, even though in seven out of 10 cases it is in a job unrelated to the high school program. Students develop confidence as future productive workers in the complex industrial world through vocational education experiences at the secondary level; surely such experience contributes to part of the initial and continued earnings differences between vocational and nonvocational education students. It is very likely that vocational education students learn "industrial discipline" as a part of the vocational education experience. Work attitudes may be the most important payoff of vocational education at the secondary level.

Vocational education is practiced in realistic settings in secondary school environments. Students use real equipment to create real products or services. It may be this realistic work environment, perceived as meaningful by students, that is the critical ingredient in vocational education programs. Such realistic learning environments may be essential in capturing the interest of the student. At the same time, they simulate industrial conditions in the real world in a way that facilitates easy transfer. Thus students feel at ease in the world of work, and the transition from school to work is less difficult. Such a theory should be advanced and studied, as it seems to account for the advantages in earnings of vocational graduates at the secondary level and represents a broadened basis for continued public investments in extra-cost high school vocational education.

It would be risky, I believe, to change the existing structure of secondary vocational education programs that are making an important difference in earnings and concentrate on cluster programs that train students with a scattering of skills in a variety of occupations. Even though the

Table 6. Average Annual Earnings Fifth Year After High School for Students Who Did Not Attend College, By Sex and Percent of Total Contact Time Devoted to Vocational Courses

Percent of Total H.S. Semesters	Vocational, T & I, or Agricultural Courses, Male	Business or Commercial Courses, Female
0-15	\$4,112	\$1,725
15-30	\$4,385	\$1,896
30-45	\$4,632	\$1,950

Note: This table does not show men in commercial courses and women in vocational courses because the count is so low in both cases. All earnings in 1975 dollars.

Source: Project TALENT

results of such a policy would boost the "work related to training" statistic, the unexpected consequences could be a less productive force.

There is no reason to believe that vocational education leadership will not meet the challenge of these findings and devel-

op a responsible and broadened base for public support of vocational education at the secondary level.

1. William G. Controv, Jr. and Daniel Diamond, *The Impact of Secondary School Occupational Education*

in Massachusetts (Lowell, Mass.: University of Lowell, 1976).

2. Gerald G. Somers, *The Effectiveness of Vocational and Technical Programs* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin, 1971).

3. Jacob J. Kaulman, *A Cost-Effectiveness Study of Vocational Education* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1969).

RESEARCH NOTES

Changing Views of Vocational Education Among School Administrators

by Roy R. Nasstrom and Dale Baker

Many responsibilities have been thrust upon vocational education over the past few years. How well these responsibilities have been met is subject to considerable debate. This report deals with one criterion of success: the changing views of public school administrators on vocational education programs in the public schools.

In 1975 we replicated a 1957 survey of attitudes toward vocational education held by secondary principals and superintendents in Indiana.* We sent 712 questionnaires; administrators made 422 usable responses, a 59% return. Demographic data indicated that nonrespondents did not differ significantly in relevant characteristics from respondents. The instruments dealt with numerous subfields of vocational education as well as with the basic field itself; reported here are responses concerning vocational education in general.

Although, as evidenced in Table 1, a high degree of stability characterized many specific attitudes during the 18-year period, several attitudes did change, some extensively, as shown in Table 2. Salient findings, with commentary:

1. Public school administrators continued to give strong support to local control and state standards, but they revealed a growing willingness to accept more support funds from the federal government. In both 1957 and 1975, more than 60% of administrators opposed state and federal determination of time allocation for vocational classes, and a substantial majority in both years agreed that approval of local vocational classes should be determined according to state standards. Yet agreed that the federal government should

finance vocational education in part jumped from 49% in 1957 to 77% in 1975.

2. Fewer administrators in the 1970s than in the 1950s agreed that training of workers should be left to industry; agreement dropped from 31% to 16%. Moreover, many more administrators expressed indecision over the issue in the Seventies: 51%, as compared with 37% in the 1950s. The number of administrators favoring public school training of semiskilled workers increased from 31% to 49%. We do not know whether the changed views reflect a growing lack of faith in the efficacy of industry's training or a growing desire for the federal funds that come with vocational education, but we incline to the latter explanation.

3. A heightened awareness of women's role in society was manifested in the larger number of Seventies administrators

who believe that women should be allowed to enroll in vocational-industrial training programs. Support increased from 51% to 83%. Given the push for women's rights during the 1970s, however, we were mildly surprised that as many as 11% of administrators were undecided about women's being allowed to enroll.

4. Despite the increased number of administrators who in 1975 agreed that vocational education should be part of the education of *all* pupils — 63% compared with 48% in 1957 — the number of administrators believing that academic teachers understand and appreciate the need for vocational education declined precipitously, from 60% to 31%. It is possible that while administrators saw vocational education as a means of drawing funds to schools and of meeting needs of certain students, academic teachers saw support for their own areas eroded by programs they believed to be dysfunctional in terms of the purposes of education. Clearly, a major conflict exists here.

5. The number of administrators who believed that "most students" were interested in vocational education decreased

Table 1. Administrators' Views Varying Less than 10% Between 1957 and 1975

Statement	1957			1975		
	A* %	D* %	U* %	A %	D %	U %
1. The cost of vocational education is justified in public schools.	71	7	21	74	5	20
2. Opportunities for vocational education should be provided in high schools.	91	1	7	93	3	4
3. Vocational education courses deserve credit equal to academic courses in the secondary school curriculum.	94	2	3	90	3	6
4. Secondary schools discourage bright pupils from taking vocational education courses.	5	89	6	4	92	3
5. The successful development of vocational education depends in large measure on the support of administrators.	80	11	8	86	8	4
6. Training supervisors and foremen in industrial education is a responsibility of the local vocational education program.	16	48	34	15	55	25
7. State and federal agencies should determine the time allocated for vocational education classes.	18	66	15	18	63	19
8. Approval of local vocational education facilities should be determined by state department standards.	82	8	10	79	10	10

*A = agree, D = disagree, U = undecided

*Ralph R. Bentley and Frank J. Woerdehoff, *The Viewpoints of Indiana School Administrators Regarding Vocational Education*, Purdue University Studies in Education, no. 4 (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University, 1958). A condensed version: "A Study of Viewpoints Held by School Administrators Regarding Vocational Education in the Secondary Schools," *Journal of Experimental Education*, June 1959, pp. 297-309.

ROY R. NASSTROM (University of California at Berkeley Chapter) is chairperson, Department of Educational Administration, Winona State University, Minn. DALE BAKER, a former vocational education teacher, is assistant principal, Ben Davis High School, Indianapolis.

from 51% to 40% during the 18-year period. In view of the increasingly favorable attitude of administrators toward vocational education, the change is curious, even though small. The explanation may be that vocational education expanded into schools whose academically oriented students disdain any kind of vocational education. The perceived reaction of students may reflect attitudes similar to those held much more extensively by academic teachers.

6. A statement on "lowest socioeconomic groups" was evidently placed in the 1957 survey because vocational educators were fighting the image of low status associated with their students. By the mid-1970s, however, vocational educators were pressed strongly to contribute to the alleviation of problems of poverty by providing opportunities for children of these groups. Administrators' acknowledgement that vocational education students were in the "lowest" group rose from 32% to 42%, and *denials* that the students fell into this category declined from 57% to 37%. The changed pattern of response may indicate one or more of three possibilities: 1) Vocational educators have been successful, with respect to enrolling students at least, in meeting contemporary social needs. 2) Despite its greater popularity among administrators and its expanded role, vocational education is less popular in the 1970s with middle-class students. 3) Administrators involved in vocational education no longer find it a stigma to admit that the program draws students from the lowest socioeconomic groups. □

Table 2. Administrators' Views Varying 10% Or More Between 1957 and 1975

Statement	1957			1975		
	A* %	D* %	U* %	A %	D %	U %
1. Industry should train its own workers.	31	28	37	16	28	51
2. Having a vocational education program in a secondary school causes too many administrative problems.	27	61	12	2	89	8
3. Skills for earning a living are as important as social skills.	84	8	6	94	2	3
4. Academic teachers understand and appreciate the need for vocational education.	60	23	16	31	37	31
5. Most students are interested in vocational education.	51	29	19	40	32	27
6. Vocational education should be part of the education of all pupils.	48	34	17	63	18	18
7. Secondary students in vocational education usually represent the lowest socioeconomic group.	32	57	11	42	37	20
8. Females should be given an opportunity to enroll in industrial training programs.	51	11	35	83	2	11
9. The secondary school should be responsible for training people for semiskilled occupations.	31	28	37	49	17	29
10. All vocational education at the secondary school level should be broad and general, not specific.	40	37	22	18	62	19
11. It is desirable for the federal government to finance vocational education in part.	49	21	28	77	7	15

*A = agree, D = disagree, U = undecided

Percentages often fall short of 100% because of nonresponse to particular items.

Time Allocation in the Classroom: Is Instruction Being Shortchanged?

by Diana Buell Hiatt

How do teachers allocate that most precious and limited classroom resource, their time? According to my research, primary teachers devote approximately 20% of their morning class time to instruction, defined as "acts of imparting skills and knowledge."* Of this 20%, nearly half is spent on reading, followed by language arts and math. All the other

subject-matter areas account for less than four minutes of instruction during an average morning.

What do teachers do with the other 80%? Evaluation accounts for a whopping 22%. Teachers are very deeply involved in monitoring pupil progress through testing, questioning, and listening to oral reading or pupil reports. These findings support teachers' concern that they are so busy testing that they have little time to "teach."

DIANA BUELL HIATT (*Pepperdine University Chapter*) is assistant professor, Graduate School of Education, Pepperdine University. This report was drawn from her dissertation, "The Effects of Teacher Aides in Primary Classrooms," completed in 1976 at the University of California at Los Angeles under the auspices of John Goodlad.

*This definition permitted telling, questioning, explaining, and demonstrating, but not direction giving, to be viewed as instructional acts. I was able, in a pilot study, to clarify the nature of such debatable acts as "giving directions." Observers for the study were trained to distinguish between "instructional planning" directions and "classroom management" directives. The act of "listening" by teachers fell into the category of evaluating instruction, whereas reading a story to the class fell into instruction. Obviously, one must value all three categories — planning for instruction, instruction, and evaluating instruction. I found that, taken together, these acts occupied 51% of the class time in our morning observations.

It will come as no surprise to teachers that classroom discipline consumes 18% of the morning. Those intermittent, yet seemingly regular, directives — "Just a minute, Johnny," "Get your eyes on your work, Susie," and "The Cardinals may line up first" — quickly add up to a considerable number of minutes.

Another large chunk of time, 10% each morning, is occupied in giving directions and making sure that the children understand what they are going to do. The remainder of class time is taken up with yard duty, recess break, preparing materials and equipment, administration, and clerical duties.

These findings are based on an intensive study of 25 primary teachers in urban and suburban Los Angeles. They were representative of the general teaching population in age, years of teaching experience, and educational attainment.

The focus of the study was on the effects of teacher aides on teachers' use of time in schools participating in the Early Childhood Education Program initiated by Wilson Riles, state superintendent of public instruction. Important research questions were: Did the teacher alter the

RESEARCH NOTES

Table 1. Use of Time by Primary Teachers

Category of Teaching Activity ^a	% of Time For All Teachers	Actual Use of Time in Minutes ^b	
		Teachers With Aides	Teachers Without Aides
Instruction	20.2	39.3	33.4
Planning for instruction	10.9	18.6	20.7
Evaluation of instruction	22.4	37.6	40.4
Classroom management ^c	18.4	29.5	40.1
Supervision	8.2	15.5	14.0
Clerical	2.8	5.4	4.6
Preparation of facilities	1.3	2.9	1.8
Administration ^d	2.8	7.2	2.6
Preparation of materials ^c	5.1	11.1	6.5
Non-teaching	7.9	12.9	15.9

^aThis order is the ranking of importance teachers attributed to each category and was derived from mean responses of the 25 teachers on the questionnaire, "Inventory of Teaching Tasks."

^bEach teacher was observed 180 consecutive minutes for two mornings. This table depicts the mean time spent in each category per morning.

^cDifferences between teachers with and without aides were significant at .02 level.

^dDifferences between teachers with and without aides were significant at .01 level.

Table 2. Teacher Use of Time in Instruction According to Subject and Size of Pupil Group

Size of Pupil Group	Minutes Spent per Morning in Each Subject				
	Reading	Math	Language Arts	All Other	Totals
Individual	2.0	1.9	1.7	.5	6.1
Small (2-6)	2.3	.9	.4	.1	3.7
Moderate (7-12)	9.4	1.4	2.4	.8	14.0
Large (13+)	1.9	—	.6	.1	2.6
Whole class	.7	4.1	3.4	2.3	10.5
Totals	16.3	8.3	8.5	3.8	36.9

allocation of time to instruction with the addition of another adult in the classroom? Was the teacher able to devote more time to individualized instruction?

I found a significant difference between teachers with and without aides in time devoted to classroom management or discipline. Teachers with aides spent 29 minutes in such acts, whereas teachers without aides consumed 40 minutes. An effective use of aides was in monitoring children during whole-class instruction and in closely guiding children who might otherwise interrupt the flow of classroom activity. Classroom observations suggest that aides could assist teachers in still more ways to reduce the time teachers must spend on classroom management and supervision, thus providing additional time for instruction by the teacher.

Of the 11 minutes a morning saved from classroom discipline, teachers were able to reallocate six minutes to instruction. The other five were employed in supervising the aides and in preparation of materials for individualized instruction planned on the spot.

Some additional findings of the study include:

1. When teaching reading, teachers still tend to divide the class into three or

four reading groups; the majority of reading instruction occurs in groups of seven to 12 children.

2. In the other academic areas, whole-class instruction tends to predominate. Some individualized instruction or group work takes place with children working on assigned or self-selected tasks.

3. The three Rs account for most of the instructional time of the morning at the primary levels, since that is when children are fresh and attentive. Other academic areas receive little emphasis or are relegated to the less academically oriented afternoon. (It seems that a "back to the basics" trend came in California before the movement had a name, if indeed there has ever been another focus for primary teachers.)

4. There was great variability in the use of time by teachers from one day to the next. A generalizability study of the observational data, subsequently performed by Ward Keesling and myself, revealed that stability among observations for a given teacher is reached with four to six visits at the same time period. Principals who expect to obtain an accurate picture of a teacher's behavior should plan that many classroom visits at a given time.

5. Interviews with teachers participating in the study showed a significant difference in level of job satisfaction between teachers with aides and those without. The former reported higher job satisfaction and attributed some of their contentment with teaching to having an aide. Teachers without aides felt that aides would make their teaching more satisfying, since they would be better able to individualize instruction. Both teachers with and without aides would rather spend money on an aide's salary than on additional educational equipment, curriculum materials, or consultants. This finding was supported by Eva Baker in a statewide survey of Early Childhood Education programs. □

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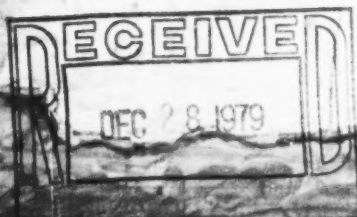
January 1980

KAPPAN

SPECIAL SECTION

Training In Business & Industry

• RUSSELL DOLL, Guest Editor



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A Study of Schooling: Students' Experiences in Schools

by Barbara J. Benham, Phil Giesen, and Jeannie Oakes

The third of four articles describing John Goodlad's "A Study of Schooling" examines students' experiences in (and opinions of) school. The research team found, among a welter of data, that friends are by far the best thing about school and that many isolated cultures may exist in each school.

This is the third in a series of four articles describing "A Study of Schooling" directed by John Goodlad. The November issue of the *Kappan* included a discussion of the background, rationale, and methodology of the study. In December the curricular aspects of the study were explained. Here we focus on the personal experiences of students; next month the final segment will treat experiences of adults within the school setting.

No examination of schools would be complete without an overview of the experiences of the people who spend their days there: students, teachers, administrators, and support staff. This article deals with our attempt to better understand what it is like to be a student. We explored, in 38 schools and over 1,000 classes, aspects of students' lives such as self-concept, class climate and classroom experiences, perceptions of problems in the school, feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various aspects of schooling, and attitudes about a number of educational issues.

We do not suggest that this information can or should stand alone. We hope that exploration of our rich array of information on students' experiences, when put into its contextual framework, may

shed some light on the complex phenomenon sometimes referred to as the culture of the school.

We recognize the difficulty of constructing a theoretical framework for a "culture" of schools, i.e., one that identifies appropriate components and helps to explain how these components interact differently in each school setting. However, one of the unique characteristics of our study is that, unlike most other educational research — which has tended to examine a small number of variables in a large number of schools — we chose to examine a large number of variables in a small number of schools. The resulting data will aid us in developing useful insights into the schools as experienced by students and, by extension, into the school culture itself.

The student data from our study fit into a four-part framework based on the students' perceptions and experiences in the context of their schools: the student and self (personal domain); the student in the classroom (instructional domain); the student in the school (institutional domain); and the student and issues of schooling (societal domain).

These four domains form a useful classification scheme for organizing the data and for thinking about student experiences. They enable us to distinguish questions about the classroom as a unit, for example, from questions about the entire school. Keep in mind, however, that these

divisions are somewhat arbitrary. As we pursue interrelationships between variables, the boundaries between the domains become less distinct. This overlap between categories probably reflects the interrelationship between the various aspects of school experience for students. Thus the variables included in the personal domain — student age or aspirations, for example — may influence perceptions in the other domains. Similarly, the tracking/ability grouping phenomenon, which affects students' experiences in the classroom, may also be an important factor in students' experiences in the school as a whole. Within and across each of these domains, relationships exist between students and their peers, teachers and the other adults in the school, the curriculum, and the larger patterns and interactions that may be called the culture of the school.

A thorough exploration of all the interrelationships among the variables grouped in these categories would fill a sizable volume; what follows, therefore, is necessarily only a small sample of some of our preliminary findings and patterns.

The Student and Self

Some 17,163 students were a part of our "Study of Schooling." Of these, 7,677 attended 12 senior high schools and one secondary school (grades 7-12); 6,042 attended 12 junior highs or middle

BARBARA J. BENHAM, PHIL GIESEN, and JEANNIE OAKES are researchers at the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. (I/D/E/A), Los Angeles.

Students who don't expect to go to college tend to believe that their high school doesn't consider them very important.

schools; and 3,444 attended 13 elementary schools. Approximately equal numbers of both sexes were sampled in each of the 38 schools. Across the entire student sample, the racial or ethnic breakdown was approximately 56% white, 19% black, 14% Mexican-American, and very small percentages (fewer than 1%) of Asians, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. The students in the study attended large schools (3,006 was the largest school population), small schools (as few as 48 students), mid-sized schools, and schools in urban, suburban, and rural locations.

We were interested, of course, in how these students felt about themselves and in their plans for the future. This information is fascinating because it provides a way of looking at how students may differ within and between schools at the same level (elementary, junior high/middle school, and high school) and at different levels of schooling.

The student surveys contained three self-concept scales: general self-concept (e.g., "There are a lot of things I'd change about myself if I could" or "I'm pretty sure of myself"), self-concept in relation to peers (e.g., "I'm popular with kids my own age" or "Kids usually follow my ideas"), and academic self-concept (e.g., "I'm proud of my schoolwork" or "I am able to do schoolwork at least as well as most other students").¹ These scales appear, on their surface, to be very germane to a study of students. After reviewing the self-concept research literature,² however, we are convinced that we should be cautious in using self-concept as a research variable. The reader must also remember that the following are *preliminary* findings, subject to further scrutiny.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the trends that are emerging as a result of our early analyses. Examining the three subscales by grade level (from grades 4 through 12) reveals that the general self-concept shows small but gradual increases as grade level rises; peer self-concept remains fairly stable; and academic self-concept scores show a slight downward trend with increasing grade levels. Although it is likely that self-concept scores are influenced by many out-of-school experiences, this pattern of self-concept differences suggests some intriguing hypotheses for further exploration. For example, do teachers in the lower grades make more of an effort to help each child to feel good about his/her schoolwork? We shall return to this question shortly.

The student survey also contained questions about students' future plans.

Table 1. Secondary Students' Perceptions of What They Will Probably Do in the Future

Possible Response	%	N
Quit school as soon as possible	2.3	285
Finish high school	26.8	3,281
Go to trade or technical school	9.5	1,164
Go to a junior college	9.9	1,213
Go to a four-year college or university	34.5	4,219
Go to graduate school after college	7.4	908
Don't know	9.5	1,166

Item intercorrelations revealed fairly strong relationships between the two questions that dealt with student perceptions of their own aspirations and expectations; evidently there is a tendency for students to feel that what they would *like* to do is probably the same as what they ultimately *will* do. For example, the correlation between "I would like to—" and "Actually, I probably will—" is 0.6914 at the junior high level ($N=3,775$) and 0.7180 at the high school level ($N=5,939$). Table 1 shows the responses of all secondary students to the item, "Actually, I probably will—."

When responses to these questions are correlated with student self-concept scores, we can see the beginnings of a pattern suggesting that students who plan on some form of higher education have higher self-concept scores (of all types) than those who plan to quit school, just to finish high school, or don't know. Students whose personal aspirations do not include some form of higher education are more likely to agree with the statement, "If you don't want to go to college, this school doesn't think you're very important."

These tentative indications that perceptions of life in school may be quite different for students with differing self-concepts and future plans are of great interest. It is possible, for example, that in exploring what happens in the classroom and in the school as a whole we may find that not only are the *perceptions* of these students different, but that their *actual experiences* in school are quite dissimilar as well.

The Student in the Classroom

In terms of the experiences of students, we have organized the classroom variables

into what we call the "experiential" curriculum—that is, the curriculum that the student perceives he is experiencing. (See the December *Kappan* for a more complete description of this aspect of the study.) Most of the student data on the experiential curriculum consist of responses to questionnaire items in which the students reported their perceptions of specific classes. Moreover, perceptions of the environment and activities in the sampled classrooms were collected from teachers and trained observers. These class-specific survey items from both students and teachers, together with observation data, permit a description of the classroom learning environment. These data can be used to analyze the patterns and relationships of classroom variables in order to provide a comprehensive picture, from a variety of perspectives, of what students experience in the instructional domain.

Students were asked about their classroom relationships with other students and with adults, the instructional practices that take place, and their feelings about the classroom in which they were sampled. All of these aspects are included in the study's concept of "classroom climate."

Examination of these data at the early elementary level (grades 1-3) reveals a fairly consistent pattern of differences among the 13 elementary schools in the study. However, the differences are not always predictable. Thus we cannot assume that some schools have a monopoly on what might be considered the "desirable" climate factors, while other schools are always high in "undesirable" climate characteristics. In other words, there are not "good" schools and "bad" schools; rather, every school (and, for that matter, every classroom) is a complex environment comprising untold numbers of interacting conditions.³

In another group of items, students were asked about the use of materials, grouping patterns, and activities in their classes. Students reported their perceptions of the difficulty and usefulness of, and their interest in, what they were learning. A preliminary exploration of student responses compiled across schools concerning the materials used in 83 high school English/language arts classes reveals that only the traditional type of printed materials (textbooks, other books, worksheets) were being used by more than half the students. Media and materials generally associated with innovative teaching practices (films, filmstrips, slides, tapes

and records, simulations, learning kits, teaching machines, television) were reported as *not* in use by more than half the sampled students in 13 high schools. (The percentage of students reporting use of these materials ranges from 41.7% for films, filmstrips, and slides to 3.6% for TV.) These student responses agree with our observation data. It appears, at least in English classes, that the innovative materials that have received so much attention in curriculum and instruction literature have not become a part of students' classroom experience. Our study of the experiential curriculum will attempt to determine whether this pattern holds in other subject areas and for students at other levels of schooling.

Observation data provide an additional perspective. (For more information on the collection of these data, see the November *Kappan*.) The above example confirming the minimal usage of innovative materials in English classes is an example of one use of these data. Congruence of perception is, of course, only one of the many uses of the observation data. We can look again, for instance, at the changing self-concept scores through the grades and begin to ask questions about whether the observed teacher behavior in the classroom may be related to these patterns. Relationships with teachers and other adults in the classroom may affect the declining academic self-concept. For example, do teachers in the lower grades make a greater effort to help each child feel good about his schoolwork? The observation data from the classrooms sampled at our 38 schools reveal that as the level of schooling rises (early elementary, upper elementary, junior high/middle school, high school), positive, encouraging teacher behaviors were less frequently observed. By the senior high school level, the frequency of teacher praise, encouragement, correction with guidance, and positive interaction with students had dropped by nearly 50% from the number of observed occurrences at the early elementary level. Why? Obviously this is fertile ground for further study.

It is also possible to view the data concerning the student's classroom experience in terms of the organizational features of the school. For example, we plan to analyze both student responses to questionnaire items and observer data regarding curricular content and activities, instructional practices, and relationships in the classroom while controlling for the curriculum track or ability group level of classes. We shall be asking these kinds of questions: Does the curriculum of classes at various track levels vary in the amount of time spent on instruction as opposed to other activities? Does the emphasis on learning activities of different types vary with the track level of classes? Does teacher enthusiasm vary with the track level of classes? How do student-teacher rela-

tionships and interactions vary between classes at different track levels? We expect that this exploration will lead to speculations about the ways in which a differentiated curriculum may shape the classroom experience for different groups of students. These examples are only a small sample of the kinds of investigations that are already under way.

The Student in the School

Interested as we are in the experiences of students in classrooms, we are equally concerned with the lives of students at the institutional level of schooling. What is it like to be a young person in the larger school setting? We included many variables at this general school level in our study: students' views of problems at school, subject-area preferences, and judgments about the relative importance of school goals, among many others. Findings in two areas at this level — students' relationships with their peers and students' perceptions of the total school curriculum — illustrate the kind of information we sought from the students in our sample.

The importance of the peer group to American adolescents has been well documented. In examining students' perceptions of their relationships with their peers in the school as a whole, relationships between these perceptions and data from the personal domain (self-concept scores) may be used as one way of exploring this variable. This is clearly an instance of the overlap and interrelationship between the domains of schooling in the student experience.

Preliminary exploration of our data in this area reveals no unusual pattern. As might be expected, students who have a higher self-concept in relation to peers are the same ones who tend to agree that "it is

easy to make friends at this school." Also, students who have higher self-concept scores tend to participate in extracurricular activities. Interestingly, there does *not* seem to be a relationship between a higher self-concept in relation to peers and a liking for school, despite the fact that "my friends" is by far the most frequent response to the question, "If you had to choose the *one best thing* about this school, which would it be?" (See Table 2.)

Some of the patterns just cited raise intriguing questions about another kind of student. For example, students who have a *lower* self-concept in relation to peers tend to *disagree* that "it is easy to make friends at this school." As a rule, students with lower self-concept scores do not participate in extracurricular activities. More-

Table 2. Secondary Students' Choices of the "One Best Thing" About Their School

Responses	%	N
My friends	34.9	4,103
Sports	13.4	1,579
Good student attitudes (friendly, good school spirit, cooperative)	11.3	1,334
Nothing	8.0	941
The classes I'm taking	7.0	826
The variety of class offerings	5.7	665
Fair rules and regulations	5.0	588
Little or no race prejudice or conflict	4.8	563
Teachers	4.1	477
Extracurricular activities other than sports	2.6	305
Principal and others who run the school	1.9	221
Campus, buildings, and equipment	1.4	165

Highly structured curriculum tracks in high school may produce distinct student cultures, greatly limiting the range of peer relationships.

over, lower self-concept scores are characteristic of those who respond "don't know" or "quit as soon as possible" when asked about their future plans.

What else can we learn about these students? Are they the same ones who, unable even to select "my friends," select "nothing" when asked to identify the one best thing about their school? It may be possible to identify a constellation of traits and perceptions characteristic of the isolated or alienated student that could help us to better understand how such students view the schooling experience.

Our findings suggest that, as a rule, students with lower self-concept scores do not plan to go on to any form of higher education. From the literature, we know also that future plans often determine (or are determined by) track placement.⁴ Are these students usually found in the lower-ability tracks? If so, it is likely that in some secondary schools these students, and those with higher self-concepts and future plans that include some form of education beyond high school, may rarely encounter each other. It may be that this variable greatly influences peer relationships at the school level.

At several of our 13 high schools, students are placed in highly structured curriculum tracks that may isolate them from other groups of students. At one of the schools this separation is effected by placing students in either a vocational or an academic course of study. Although students in the vocational track are required to take some academic subjects, these courses are homogeneously grouped by student ability or achievement; the vocational students are usually placed in the lower groups and the students in the academic track in the higher groups. Further segregation between the two tracks of students occurs because vocational students, unlike those in the academic track at this school, take their academic subjects in two- or three-hour blocks and spend the rest of the school day taking vocational courses and working. Interaction between vocational and academic students does not even take place in physical education classes, because vocational students are excused from the physical education requirement. Thus it is conceivable that at some high schools two or more diverse patterns of experiences — distinct student cultures, perhaps — may exist that are quite independent of each other and greatly limit the range of peer relationships at school.

To this point, most of our discussion has focused on individuals across schools. This type of analysis permits a description of the students in our sample regardless of the particular schools they attend. Other types of analysis — e.g., school-by-school patterns — can be more appropriate in assessing specific differences between and within schools and classrooms. Space limitations do not permit us to give a detailed description of the type of findings that may eventually emerge from between-schools analysis of our data. An example, however, may be both illustrative and thought-provoking.

We asked several general questions about students' perception of the curriculum of the school as a whole. When the 13 high schools are rank-ordered according to percentage of agreement with these variables, the same school shows up consistently at the bottom of the rankings. Students at that particular high school *disagree*, more than students at any other high school in our sample, that "this school gives students a good education," that "what I am learning in school will be useful for what I will need to know later in life," and that "many teachers at this school are doing a good job." On the other hand, they *agree* that "too many students at this school are allowed to graduate without learning very much." Furthermore, when asked to select the "one biggest problem" at their school, many students at this high school selected "poor teaching," a response seldom selected by students at the other 12 high schools studied. Our examination begins to yield a picture of this high school as a place where students feel that they are not experiencing a high-quality curriculum. As we continue to analyze our data, it may be possible to generate some useful hypotheses about the complex interaction of school characteristics that provokes such feelings.

The Student and Issues of Schooling

In the societal domain, students were asked to express their opinions on a variety of education-related issues such as desegregation, busing, and the value of job experience as a part of school programs. Preliminary analysis of student responses to items about desegregation and busing suggests that, in our sample, students at schools where busing was taking place at the time of the study were less negative to both the idea of desegregation

and the practice of busing than were students at schools where busing was not taking place. These findings suggest an interesting relationship. However, the answer is probably not simply that busing makes students less antagonistic toward this issue. It is more likely that the explanation lies in an interrelationship of aspects of all the domains of the study — from individual self-concept, to classroom practices and class climate, through administrative procedures and outside influences such as parental attitudes.

As an example of this type of interaction, compare the student responses to the busing and desegregation items with the parent responses to the same items. While the adults generally responded more negatively to these issues than students, a similar pattern emerges: Parents of children attending schools that were being desegregated through the use of busing were less negative than were the parents of students attending schools where busing for desegregation was not taking place.

There is one caveat, however. When such patterns emerge we must keep in mind that our sample of schools was extremely small and that our intention in this study was to describe the findings for our sample only, without generalizing to a larger population or implying that what we found will necessarily be found at other schools.

Obviously, we have only begun to analyze our data. But our in-depth study, emphasizing the complex interactions of the various components of schooling as exemplified by our discussion of class climate, peer relationships, and tracking, should help us to provide many insights into how life in schools feels to young people. Moreover, we expect an improved understanding of the phenomena that create a characteristic climate in each of the schools we studied, and of ways in which constructive changes may be made that will lead to a higher quality of life in schools — not only for students but for adults as well.

1. We wish to thank Stanley Coopersmith for his permission to use items from his self-esteem instrument.
2. Staff technical report by Mitchell Nides, 1978.
3. For a more detailed discussion of classroom climate, see Kenneth A. Sirotnik, Mitchell Nides, and Gerald Engstrom, "Measuring Classroom Learning Environment: A Report on Work-in-Process," *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, forthcoming.
4. Staff technical report, 1979. □

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February 1980

KAPPAN

Roland Barth on Discipline

Part Four

John Goodlad's
"A Study of Schooling"



Benjamin Bloom on Alterable Variables:
The New Direction in Research

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opening of almost 50 new 'Christian Academies' (in North Carolina). . . . Harry Golden, *The Nation*, 22 December 1969, p. 697. See also David Nevin and Robert E. Bills, *The Schools That Fear Built* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1976).

9. William Lloyd Turner, "Reasons for Enrollment in Religious Schools: A Case Study of Three Recently Established Fundamental Schools in Kentucky and Wisconsin" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1979).

10. It should be noted that these data are based on a response rate of 50% from Kentucky schools and 35% from Wisconsin schools. This underscores the difficulty of collecting such data, and the reluctance of these

schools to reveal any information about their educational programs.

11. Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, 6th ed. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 32.

12. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, stated his belief that a loss of as little as 5%-7% of students of these schools would severely "cripple" public schools by depriving them of their best-motivated students and parents. *Education Daily*, 17 January 1979, p. 1.

13. Fundamentalists successfully challenged the right of the state to regulate their schools in Ohio (*Ohio v. Wisner*, 351 N.E. 2d 750, Ohio, 1976) and Vermont

[*Vermont v. Lebarge*, 134 Vt. 276 (1976)]. Similar challenges are under way in Kentucky (*Kentucky State Board of Education v. Hinton*, Franklin Circuit Court, Division I, Civil Action No. 88314, 1978) and North Carolina (*State of North Carolina v. Columbus Christian Academy et al.*, 78 - OVS - 1678).

14. *Kentucky State Board of Education v. Hinton*, *supra*; *Ohio v. Wisner*, *supra*.

15. *Kentucky State Board of Education v. Hinton*, *supra*.

16. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *The Small Town in Mass Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 255.

17. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*, XVIII (1854). □

A Study of Schooling: Adult Experiences in Schools

by Mary M. Bentzen, Richard C. Williams, and Paul Heckman

The last of four articles describing John Goodlad's "A Study of Schooling" looks at the people who work in schools. Are teachers satisfied with their jobs? Would they choose teaching again as a career? Are elementary teachers more satisfied than secondary ones?

Some might argue that a lack of information about the work environment of those who staff our schools will not seriously limit our understanding of how schooling is carried out, that the only crucial information is what instructional techniques teachers use and what content they cover. We would argue otherwise, for two reasons. First, a large body of data suggests that the way in which organizational conditions are perceived by those who work within them may directly or indirectly affect how work is performed. Second, as members of a profession that espouses high regard for human values, we find it relevant to consider the health of school environments for all persons who spend their days there.

The details of daily worklife in schools are becoming better known to the general public. In recent years militant teacher groups have focused attention on teacher pay scales and formal job requirements. Violent incidents have forced wider recognition of the very real physical danger that many educators face. The media have documented the impact that various social movements, such as desegregation, have had on the working conditions of school

personnel. And some studies have dealt with the experiences of adults in schools.¹ But most researchers have collected data in relatively confined geographical areas or have used a particular disciplinary lens, such as sociology or social psychology, when designing their studies and interpreting the results. In "A Study of Schooling" we have attempted to build on their work by gathering data from a wide variety of people (e.g., teachers, administrators, parents, students, community leaders) in diverse locations (rural, urban, suburban) about many dimensions of schooling, including the school as an adult workplace. These data are being analyzed and interpreted by researchers with differing experiential and disciplinary backgrounds. We hope that the variety in our data and in our approaches to them will lead us to further insights into the daily lives of adults in schools.

Our main purpose in this article is to familiarize readers with that part of "A Study of Schooling" pertaining to the adult experience in schools, describing what data were collected in this area and offering some preliminary interpretations. As in the preceding *Kappan* articles on the study, we must emphasize that these examples are for illustrative purposes only. We are currently pursuing more complex analyses of the data that may amplify and perhaps even change some of these early impressions.

Description of Data

Two points regarding the data should be made clear at the outset. First, when we speak of "adults" in the school we limit

that group to professional teaching and nonteaching staff, e.g., teachers, specialists, librarians, counselors, principals, and vice principals. We did not collect data from support staff, not because we didn't view their function as important to a comprehensive understanding of the adult workplace but simply because we didn't have the resources to expand data collection to that scale. Second, the data we shall discuss in this paper do not include how teachers interacted with students in their classrooms. That largest part of a teacher's time was treated in the December and January issues of the *Kappan*.² Here we are primarily concerned with the individual and cooperative adult activities that surround time in classrooms.

As we set about devising our questionnaires, we tried to keep to a minimum any preconceptions as to which features of adult life in schools should be important and what should fit with what else. We included the standard personal descriptors based upon age, sex, marital status, professional training, years of experience, and so forth. Additionally, we formulated other questions guided, for the most part, by our experience in studying schools and by general concepts from sociology and psychology that have been applied to schools. We inquired about the formal work organization of the school, e.g., number of teaching teams, departments, administrators, special projects; and we asked people to tell us with whom they worked informally and how many friends they had on the staff. Interest in the concept of control led us to include questions about how much control staff members felt they had over the way they did their

The authors are all research associates of John I. Goodlad, dean, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, and director of the research division of the Institute for Development of Educational Activities (I/D/E/A/). MARY M. BENTZEN is a consultant to the study that is the subject of this article. RICHARD C. WILLIAMS is also an associate professor of education at UCLA. PAUL HECKMAN is a researcher at I/D/E/A/.

jobs and whether or not that was enough, and questions about how much influence the entire group of teachers had in making a variety of decisions. Concern with the concept of leadership prompted us to ask about the basis of the principal's power in the school. Because of our interest in the socialization of new members in an organization, we interviewed teachers about difficulties new staff members faced in the school and how people coped with them. A number of items were also developed to get at the amount of overall job satisfaction expressed by teachers. Influenced by the work we have done on a previous project, we asked about school problems and how much effort was being devoted to resolving them.³ Our long-term concern with how change occurs in schools also found its way into interviews. And, finally, the concept of organizational climate led us to develop a major set of questions aimed at learning teachers' assessments of their work environment.

Examples of Preliminary Analyses

Clearly, a great many questions of relationship among the variables referred to above can be explored with our data. For purposes of illustration, we shall look at some results from our analyses of teachers' perceptions of their job satisfaction and of other aspects of their work experience.

We used "teacher satisfaction" as a general title for a scale based on teacher responses to items such as "I usually look forward to each working day at this school." Teachers answered questions such as this on a six-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. As a beginning point in the analysis of the 1,334 teacher satisfaction scores, we simply asked two main questions: 1) How satisfied are they, overall? 2) Is their satisfaction related to a) where they teach, i.e., urban, suburban, rural locations; b) who they teach, i.e., students from lower, middle, or upper socioeconomic status communities; or c) the level at which they teach, i.e., elementary, junior high, or

senior high school?

The results of these first analyses appear in Table 1. Overall, we find that over 75% of the teachers agreed with statements that were considered indicative of job satisfaction. However, only 12% of all the sample teachers agreed strongly with those statements.

Next, we wondered if there might be some relationship between satisfaction and the school's socioeconomic and location characteristics. This was not an idle concern, since a rather common public and professional attitude is that teachers are more frustrated in urban and lower-income areas and that this fact negatively affects their job satisfaction and ultimately their job performance. A manifestation of that attitude is the policy in some districts of providing additional incentives or "combat pay" to teachers who accept inner-city assignments. Looking at the socioeconomic and location columns in Table 1, we find slight tendencies for teachers in higher-income communities and in more suburban communities to be better satisfied with their work.

However, the clearest pattern of group differences occurs when we examine teachers' responses separately according to the schooling level at which they teach. Fifty-seven percent of the elementary teachers moderately agreed or strongly agreed with the satisfaction items, whereas less than half of the secondary teachers fit into those categories. The spread of the scores indicates that the elementary teachers were the best satisfied, followed by those at junior and senior high schools respectively.

Similar findings are obtained when we analyze teacher responses to other items in our questionnaire that measured job satisfaction more indirectly. For example, Table 2 presents the responses of teachers to questions about whether or not their career expectations have been fulfilled and whether they would once again choose to become teachers. Although the majority of teachers responded affirmatively to these questions, important level-of-schooling differences appear in the

data; again, the elementary teachers were much more positive in their response than were secondary teachers.

Intrigued with these differences in expressed job satisfaction, we checked to see whether teachers at each schooling level gave different reasons for leaving their jobs. The results in Table 3 suggest, regardless of schooling level, that 1) "personal frustration or lack of satisfaction with job performance" and 2) "more money" were the most frequent responses to this question. Level differences emerge once more, however. Elementary teachers were more likely to leave their present teaching jobs for personal (rather than economic) reasons than were secondary teachers.

We must emphasize, at this point, that we have been discussing *average* tendencies. The fact remains that dissatisfied and satisfied teachers can be found at *all* schools in our sample, regardless of their location, the economic status of the community, or level of schooling. This leads naturally to posing questions of *relationship* between job satisfaction and other aspects of the adult work environment. For example, we have already seen in Table 2 that most teachers were positive in their response to questions on fulfillment of expectations and selection of education as a profession. Nevertheless, many teachers were not affirmative in their response to these questions. Are these the teachers who expressed dissatisfaction with their work experience?

To answer questions of relationship such as this, the data were rearranged into contingency (or cross-tabulation) tables by forming two groups of teachers based on their job satisfaction scores — the "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" groups. We then recomputed the percentages of response to the above questions for each of these groups separately. The results appear in Table 4. Not surprisingly, those teachers who responded favorably to the questions tended to be those who were satisfied with their jobs. What is intriguing is that teachers at the junior high level reflect this finding most dramatically; on-

Table 1. Variables Related to Teacher Job Satisfaction

Response Categories*	All Teachers %	Economic Status of Community			Location of School			Level of Schooling		
		High %	Middle %	Low %	Urban %	Suburban %	Rural %	Elementary %	Jr. High/Middle %	Sr. High %
Strongly agree (6)	11.9	13.3	9.7	12.9	9.6	14.2	12.3	21.8	15.2	5.8
Moderately agree (5)	33.4	37.8	36.8	24.8	31.7	37.7	28.0	35.7	34.3	31.8
Mildly agree (4)	33.0	32.5	32.0	34.5	35.0	32.5	29.2	26.8	29.8	37.5
Mildly disagree (3)	15.0	11.9	15.6	17.7	16.6	11.5	18.5	10.4	13.6	17.8
Moderately disagree (2)	5.6	3.7	4.7	8.5	5.4	3.3	10.3	3.9	5.8	6.2
Strongly disagree (1)	1.1	0.7	1.2	1.7	1.6	0.8	1.6	1.4	1.3	0.9
Mean	4.28	4.44	4.28	4.11	4.18	4.46	4.10	4.56	4.36	4.11
N	1,334	428	498	412	571	520	243	280	396	658

*In response to the statement, "I usually look forward to each working day at this school."

Table 2. Percentages of Teachers Answering 'Yes' to the Questions. . .

	Overall	By Level		
		Elementary	Jr. High	Sr. High
"Looking back on your expectations before you started your present career, were those expectations fulfilled?"	73.7	79.7	67.0	75.1
"If you had it to do over again, would you choose education as a profession?"	68.7	76.5	64.0	68.1

ly half of the teachers who expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs at this level would choose the teaching profession again.

Similar results are obtained when we introduce other variables that describe, in part, teachers' views of the schools in which they work. We asked teachers whether or not they viewed "the administration" and "staff relations" as problem areas at their schools. Table 5 shows how both satisfied and dissatisfied teachers responded to these questions. As might be expected, we find the pattern of relatively more dissatisfied teachers seeing the areas of administration and staff relations as being problematic at their schools. Once more, however, a noticeable difference between levels occurs. While this result is most common at the junior high schools in the administration area, at the elementary level it is most pronounced in the area of staff relations.

This pattern of results continues when we probe almost all facets of the adult work experience as perceived by teachers. We can illustrate this even in the curricular domain with two final examples from our data analyses. First, we asked the teachers the following question: "Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, and FAIL to describe the quality of their work. If schools could be graded in the same way, what grade would you give this school — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?" As can be seen in Table 6, these data, too, conform to the expected configuration; more satisfied teachers rated their schools above average than did less satisfied teachers. And, as we have seen before, this is especially true for teachers at the secondary levels. Second, we asked teachers to indicate which single schooling function — social, intellectual, personal, or vocational development — 1) received the most emphasis at their school and 2) should, in their opinion, be most emphasized at their school. We then created two groups of teachers, those who selected the same function for items 1) and 2) and those who selected different functions for these items. We labeled these two groups "congruent" and "incongruent" respectively, referring to their perceptions of "what is" and "what ought to be" emphasized at their schools. Although the differences may not be as large as we've seen so far, Table 7 demonstrates that,

once again, the teachers who expressed more satisfaction with their job tended more often to be congruent on the functions-of-schooling items. This relationship, too, appears to be strongest at the junior and senior high levels.

Certainly, what we have seen so far suggests that teacher job satisfaction is highly related to teacher perceptions of a variety of facets of their work experience. Furthermore, this finding appears to be strongest for secondary schools in all areas except one, the perception of staff relationships as a problem. Interestingly, elementary teachers associate their job satisfaction more strongly with this variable than do teachers at the other two levels.

We have seen this differential pattern between elementary and secondary levels in other analyses, particularly those where

we have examined teachers' responses to questions exploring what is usually called "organizational climate." These are questions about *principal leadership* ("Does the principal let staff members know what is expected of them?"), *staff cohesiveness* ("Is there a great deal of cooperative effort among staff members?"), *problem solving* ("When a problem comes up, does this school have viable procedures for working on it?"), and so forth.

The expected result emerges once again: namely, that the better satisfied teachers are with their work, the more favorably they view aspects of their organizational climate. But differences in level persist. Elementary teachers relate job satisfaction more strongly to questions about staff cohesiveness, whereas secondary teachers relate job satisfaction more strongly to questions about principal leadership and the processes of problem solving and decision making.

These and other analyses currently under way are beginning to point up the organizational differences between and among schools.⁴ In the relatively less complex world of the elementary school, two roles — principal and teacher — stand out clearly. It may be that the classroom is the teacher's domain and "running the school" is the domain of the principal. We can begin to speculate, therefore, that elementary teachers, spending most of

Table 3. Teachers' Responses, by Percent, to the Question, "Hypothetically, which one of the following reasons would most likely cause you to leave your present position?"

Reason	Overall	By Level		
		Elementary	Jr. High	Sr. High
Personal frustration or lack of satisfaction with my own job performance	34.1	38.3	33.6	32.6
More money	21.9	18.1	25.1	21.7
Higher-status job	15.4	13.7	13.4	17.2
Difficult student population (or the characteristics of the student population)	12.2	10.8	14.2	11.5
Personal conflict with the administration	7.6	10.8	6.5	6.9
Severe staff conflict	4.8	5.8	3.9	4.9
Inadequate physical plant and materials	4.1	2.5	3.4	5.2

Table 4. Relationship of Job Satisfaction to Questions of Goal Fulfillment and Education as a Profession (Percentages of Teachers Answering 'Yes')

Question	Satisfaction Group	By Schooling Level			
		Overall	Elementary	Jr. High	Sr. High
"Looking back on your expectations before you started your present career, were those expectations fulfilled?"	Satisfied	85.2	86.1	80.8	87.9
	Dissatisfied	63.1	69.9	52.4	66.4
"If you had it to do over again, would you choose education as a profession?"	Satisfied	80.6	82.6	76.7	82.3
	Dissatisfied	57.6	67.0	50.3	58.5

Table 5. Relationship of Job Satisfaction to Questions of Administration and Staff Problems (Percentages of Teachers Answering 'Yes')

Question	Satisfaction Group	By Schooling Level			
		Overall	Elementary	Jr. High	Sr. High
"Is the administration at this school a problem?"	Satisfied	30.5	25.6	17.3	43.7
	Dissatisfied	68.6	58.4	66.5	72.4
"Are staff relationships a problem at this school?"	Satisfied	36.1	37.6	29.2	40.2
	Dissatisfied	63.5	70.0	54.7	66.1

their time in single, self-contained classrooms, have considerably more control over their work environment. This could easily result in more job satisfaction generally as well as more viable sources of job satisfaction in other than principal-related areas (e.g., in the area of staff interpersonal relationships).

Not so for secondary schools. They are more complex organizations, needing more coordination and control. Teachers are often scheduled with five or more different preparations (different class contents) per day, often in different rooms, and sometimes even in different departments. Many teachers at the larger secondary schools never get to the "other side of campus"; often they don't talk to or even know teachers from other departments quite different from their own. It is not surprising, therefore, that sources of job satisfaction for secondary teachers may be more readily found in the process-oriented domains of school functioning, e.g., principal leadership, problem solving, and the like.

Our findings to date, therefore, point to the necessity of differentiating leadership and organizational patterns to meet the contingencies found at the three levels of schooling. Consonant with the hypothesis-generating nature of the study as a whole, speculations such as these will serve as guides for continuing exploration of the data.⁵

Last in the Series

This article is the last in a four-part series on "A Study of Schooling." Our primary purpose has been to inform *Kappan* readers about what we did. A secondary purpose has been to report some initial findings. In so doing we have frequently referred to these findings as tentative or preliminary. Perhaps some further explanation of what we mean by these two words is in order.

By "tentative" or "preliminary" we do not mean that a tally is incomplete, as would be true when only some of the votes in an election had been counted. Rather, we mean that a conclusion pertaining to a relationship between two variables using all available data on both variables might be subject to revision following a more complex analysis involving data on a third variable. For example, our data suggest

some interesting differences between elementary and secondary teachers in regard to both job satisfaction and factors appearing to be related to job satisfaction. These findings are complete in the sense that they are based on our entire sample of teachers.

But they are also preliminary, because analyses of other variables might reveal that numbers of years in service, for example, more than level of schooling, correlates with job satisfaction. From the beginning we have chosen to study a relatively large number of variables existing and interacting within the context of a small number of schools. Consequently, the richness of the data available makes these additional probes feasible, and any findings preceding these additional analyses become preliminary. Even for our concluding report, to appear in 1981, we shall not be able to explore all the possibilities. In addition to making some of the customary recommendations for further research, we shall probably include some suggestions for further mining of the data already available.

1. See Seymour Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971); Philip W. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968); and Dan Lortie, *School Teacher: A Psychological Study* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

2. For the curriculum and student experience perspectives, see the Klein, Tye, and Wright and the Benham, Giesen, and Oakes articles appearing in the previous two *Kappan* issues.

3. See Mary M. Bentzen, *Changing Schools: The Magic Feather Principle* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).

4. We are currently exploring data to determine whether school size is really the operating variable here, since elementary schools are usually smaller than secondary schools. So far, however, size does not appear to be as strong a factor as level of schooling.

5. The notion of exploratory research was discussed in the Goodlad, Sirotnik, and Overman article in the November issue of the *Kappan*. □

Table 6. Relationship of Job Satisfaction and School Rating (Percentages of Teachers Rating the School 'Above Average' — As and Bs)

Satisfaction Group	By Schooling Level			
	Overall	Elem.	Jr. High	Sr. High
Satisfied	85.2	89.1	89.7	79.5
Dissatisfied	37.6	53.5	41.9	31.1

Table 7. Relationship of Job Satisfaction and Congruency On Schooling Functions (Percentages of Teachers Who Are Congruent)

Satisfaction Group	By Schooling Level			
	Overall	Elem.	Jr. High	Sr. High
Satisfied	51.3	57.4	56.2	43.7
Dissatisfied	34.0	46.4	35.3	29.7

system be used to evaluate performance. In only one case (ILM) did the system produce data for a grade in a graduate course.

All four systems were designed to be used with inservice administrators; only two (ILM and SEST) had been used extensively in preservice training programs, but in neither case has a major portion of the training program been competency based. The area of supervision was most frequently the area selected for this approach. One system (GPAS) was designed specifically for use with school principals.

The validity of the instruments was largely based on content validity judgments by experts and practitioners. Extensive field tests were conducted in one case,

and some field-testing was done in the others. No measures of reliability were reported on any of the instruments.

The development and refinement of good instruments is a slow, tedious process. The four systems described above offer a rich resource from which new work may proceed.

1. Published by Educational Research Corporation, 83 Main St., Watertown, MA 02172. The description is based on study of the exercises, an observation of a group using some of them, and "Educational Leadership Appraisal (ELA): A Progress Report," *Gatekeepers' Gazette*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1977, pp. 1-16.
2. Developed as part of Project R.O.M.E. (Results-Oriented Management in Education) at the University of Georgia, Athens. The description is based primarily on two articles by Chad D. Ellett: "Understanding and Using the Georgia Principal Assessment System

(GPAS)," *CCBC Notebook*, February 1978, pp. 2-14, and "Teacher Assessments of Principals' Performance: Their Validity and Independence of School Size and Other Characteristics," *CCBC Notebook*, October 1977, pp. 4-21.

3. Published by ILM Publishers, 1470 Wilton Way, Salt Lake City, UT 84108. The description is based on study of several ILM modules and the following unpublished papers provided by Lloyd E. McCleary, University of Utah: "Competency-Based Education: What Is It and What Does It Mean for Professional Preparation?," "ILM Learning Modules and Their Development," and "Assessing Competency Needs in Administration."

4. Developed as part of the Special Education Supervisor Training Project at the University of Texas at Austin. The description is based on study of the instruments, interviews, and a report by Ben M. Harris and John D. King titled *Professional Supervisory Competencies*, Document #7, rev. (Austin, Tex.: SEST Project, University of Texas at Austin, July 1975).

Major Problems in Public Education From the Students' Perspective

by Robert B. Pittman and Lewis E. Cloud

The annual Gallup Poll of the public's attitudes toward public education is a valuable source of information for policy development and decision making. It permits the views of the adult public to be known and to be taken into consideration. However, the poll has been administered to a cross section of the student population only once. Charles Willie has noted the importance of incorporating student perceptions into the educational decision-making process.¹

Early in 1979 we conducted a survey of high school students in the eight western-most counties of North Carolina to identify problems they considered most serious. The 1,466 students who participated represented a 20% nonprobability sample of high school students in the region. Attitudes toward school problems were studied because, in the annual Gallup polls, this is the one question for which we have year-to-year benchmarks. Respondents are always asked to identify the major problems facing their local public schools. Assessing students' perceptions in the same area makes simple comparisons possible.

In our survey students were asked to select from a list of problem areas those they considered most serious in their schools. (In the Gallup polls the question is open-ended.) Most of the problems we offered were taken from lists appearing in the 1977 and 1978 Gallup polls.

Results of our poll are presented in

Table 1. We found general agreement between student and adult public responses in 1978 on many problems. The largest difference occurs in the major problem facing education. Our respondents identified "pupils who just don't care" as the major problem in public schools, while in the Gallup polls "lack of discipline" has consistently been most often mentioned.²

Several explanations can be offered for this difference. However, the one we consider most satisfactory is this: Students and the adult public are witnessing the same phenomena, but students are more accurate in identifying the root problem.

Students also list lack of parent and

teacher interest high as a problem area. It appears that students are saying they agree that there are problems with the schools, but the major source of difficulty lies in a lack of personal commitment by all of those who are most closely involved in public education.

As for credentials and facilities, students in our region see no serious inadequacy. They accept teachers, administrators, books, activities, and all material considerations. To improve the schools, according to these students, we must somehow develop a greater degree of personal interest by those involved.

1. Charles V. Willie, "The Student Opinion Poll: A Tool in Educational Administration," *Phi Delta Kappan*, February 1979, pp. 461, 462.
2. George H. Gallup, "The 10th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 1978, pp. 33-45.

Table 1. Student Responses and Rank Comparisons with 1978 Gallup Data

Question and Identified Problem Areas	% of Students Selecting Problem Areas	Rank	Rank in 1978 Gallup Poll
What do you think are the biggest problems, if any, with the public schools in this community? (Check as many as apply.)			
a. Crime			
b. Difficulty of getting good teachers	35	9.5	9
c. Drinking/alcoholism	36	7	8
d. Black/white student relations	39	8	14.5
e. Lack of discipline	18	14	3
f. Lack of necessary books and materials	30	11	1
g. Parents who just don't care	35	9.5	No equiv.
h. Too few or not the right kind of courses offered	40	4.5	9
i. Problems with principal/asst. principal	44	3	5
j. Pupils who just don't care	29	12	14.5
k. Teachers who just don't care	28	1	9
l. Too many school rules	40	4.5	11.5
m. Use of drugs	38	8	No equiv.
n. Not enough after-school activities	45	2	2
o. There are no problems	20	13	No equiv.
	4	—	—

ROBERT B. PITTMAN and LEWIS E. CLOUD (Western Carolina Chapter) are faculty members in the Department of Administration, Curriculum, and Instruction, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee. The research reported here was supported by a grant from the Office of Research Administration at WCU.

Can a School Board Legally Prohibit Moonlighting? — FLYGARE
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A Study of the School Needs of Children from One-Parent Families

by B. Frank Brown

Nearly half of U.S. children born in 1980 will live "a considerable time" with only one parent. This study shows that many of them will have special academic and behavior problems. What are the implications for education?

Last year, an Anglo-American conference was held in England to examine implications of the growing number of one-parent families upon schools in the two countries. A conference participant, E. Mavis Hetherington, a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, California, summed up the new problem confronting the schools in these words: "There is a greater probability of problems in school occurring with children from single-parent families. The achievement test scores and grades in school of children being reared in single-parent families tend to be lower than those of children living with two parents."

Family circumstances are changing so rapidly from the traditional two-parent

situation to the phenomenon of a single-parent family head that the specter of lower performance by increasing numbers of students hovers over the schools. No one can say to what extent lower pupil performance results from parental separation — selection factors are obviously at work here — but we are now discovering that serious behavioral problems often characterize children of one-parent families.

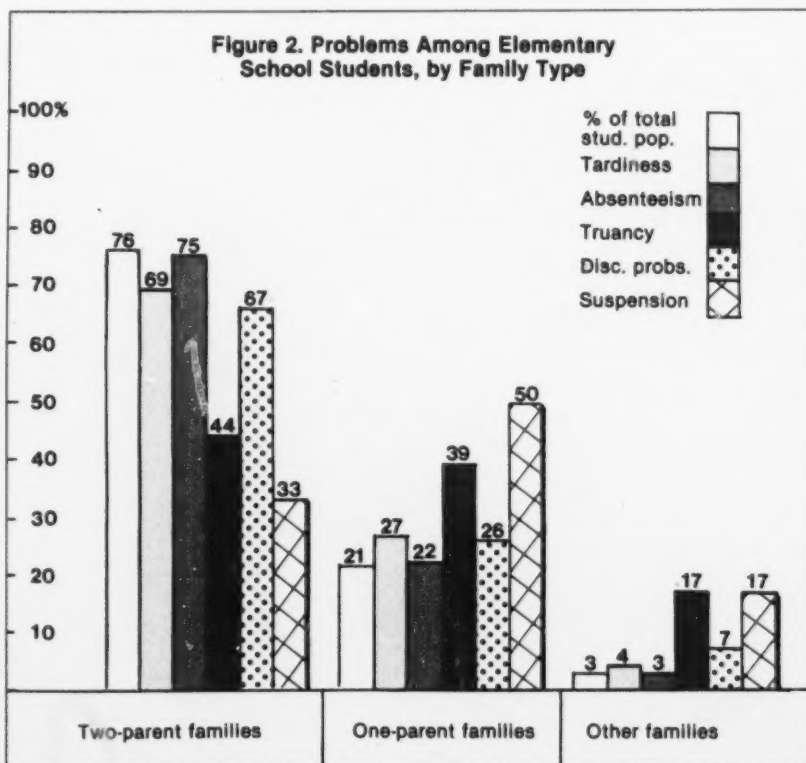
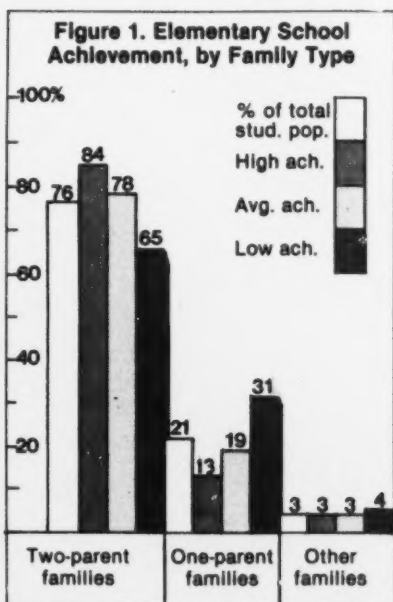
In the U.S., little or no attention has yet been paid to the school needs of children from single-parent homes. In England, where one in every three marriages breaks down and second marriages are failing at an even higher rate, a family action group has urged the government to appoint a "minister for the family," with

his own department to help restore the stability of family life and stem the tidal wave of divorces.

How many children live with a single parent in the U.S.? The number is formidable — and growing. The Bureau of the Census reports that more than 18% of the nation's schoolchildren are now living with a lone parent. The bureau projects that 48% of all children born in 1980 will live "a considerable time" with only one parent before they reach the age of 18. In actual numbers, we are talking about more than 12 million children, and that figure is growing at the rate of more than one million a year.

How long will children live with only one parent? The average time between divorce and remarriage is 3.2 years. To

B. FRANK BROWN is director of the Consortium for the Study of School Needs of Children from One-Parent Families and program manager for the Institute for Development of Educational Activities (I/D/E/A/), a division of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation.



this time we must add the six to eight months that elapse between the time of separation and the actual divorce. The combination gives an estimated average time of four years in which the child resides with a lone parent.

Single-parent homes are created not only by divorce but by the death of spouses and the birth of children to unmarried mothers. The latter phenomenon

These data are based upon reports from 15 schools with a total of 8,556 students. Included in this first analysis are results from 11 elementary schools in nine states with a total enrollment of 5,286 students and four high schools in three states with a total enrollment of 3,270.

These data reflect differences in school achievement, tardiness, absenteeism, truancy, discipline problems, suspensions,

expulsions, and dropouts, comparing children of two-parent families with children living with a single parent and students living with a relative or in a foster home. Degree of student mobility and Title I eligibility are other variables considered. (For the purposes of this study, a two-parent family was defined as any family unit in which the student is living with either both natural parents or one natural parent and a stepparent.)

Bar charts rather than tables are presented for easy identification of the differences in the various types of student/family relationships covered by the study. To understand the charts, the reader needs to know that all vertical bars are represented on a scale of zero to 100%. The unshaded bar represents the percentage of the total student population in the category named below the bar. The shaded bar reflects the percentage of the total student population in the function identified at the top of the chart.

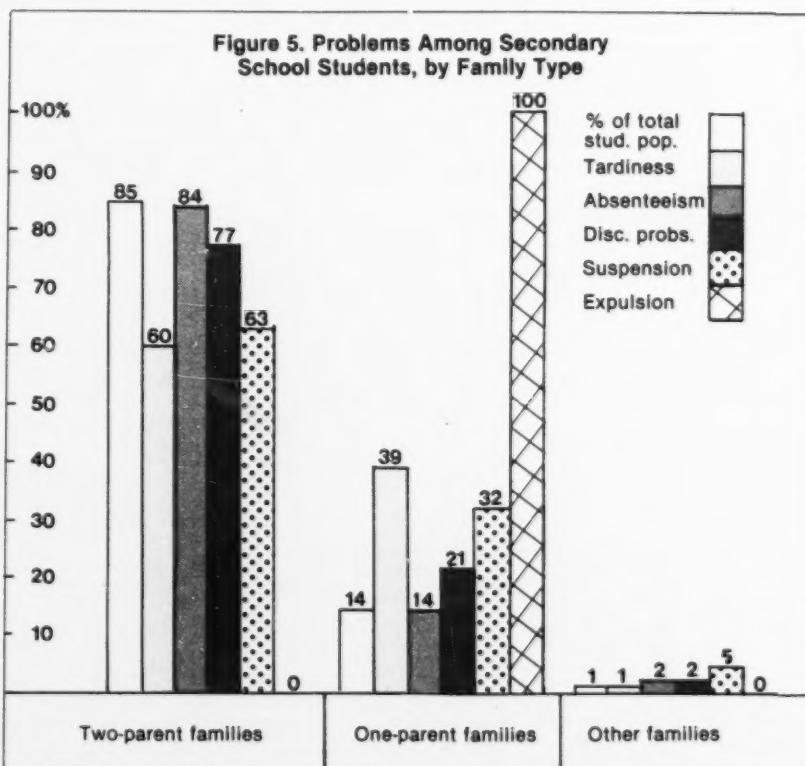
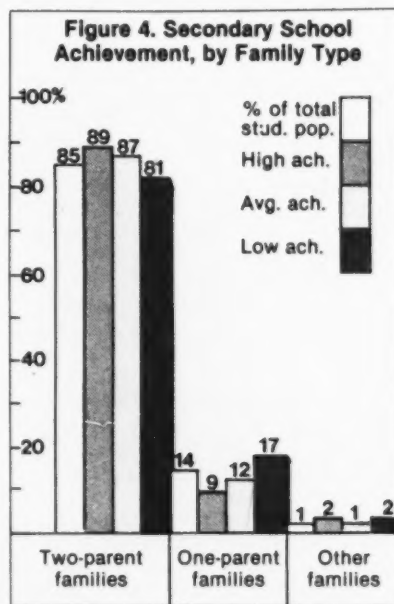
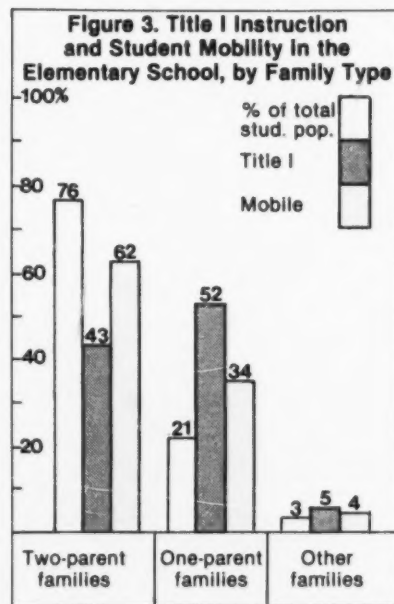
In an effort to assess the influence of income on the differences between two-parent, one-parent, and other types of families, the study identified the numbers of children participating in free or reduced-price lunch programs. The functioning of children from low-income two-parent families was then compared with low-income single-parent families and others. Again a substantially higher proportion of high achievers was found to come from the two-parent family homes than from one-parent or other type family

is also growing at a staggering pace. There are now more unmarried mothers with children than widowed mothers. However, by far the greatest number of single-parent homes are a consequence of divorce.

In an effort to determine the impact on schools of this burgeoning new problem, the Kettering Foundation and the National Association of Elementary School Principals identified 18 items designed to measure school performance and initiated a study to compare the functioning of one-parent versus two-parent children in 26 schools.

The initial research is best described as a search for clues as to how seriously children are affected after going through the trauma of seeing their family come apart. Even though an abundance of sociological research has been completed or is under way dealing with the family, parenting, and even single parents, this is the first large-scale study of behavioral differences in school of children from diminished families.

The accompanying statistical data, compiled from the study, highlight the findings of the research at the end of the first semester of the 1979-80 school year.



homes; an inordinate proportion of children from the one-parent families are also low achievers. In fact, the data for these low-income groups show substantially the same trends as are exhibited within the three family groups not participating in free or reduced-price lunch programs.

Thus early results of the study indicate that there are disproportionate numbers of children from one-parent

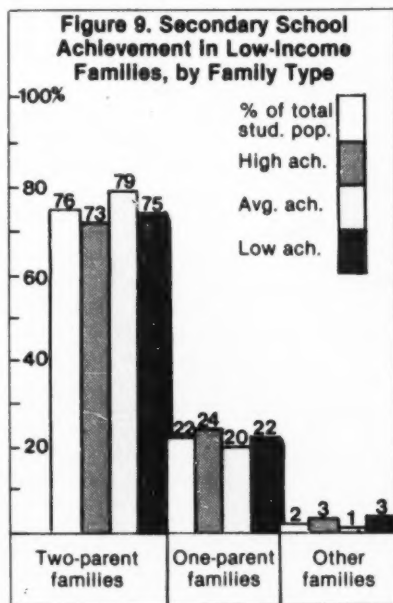
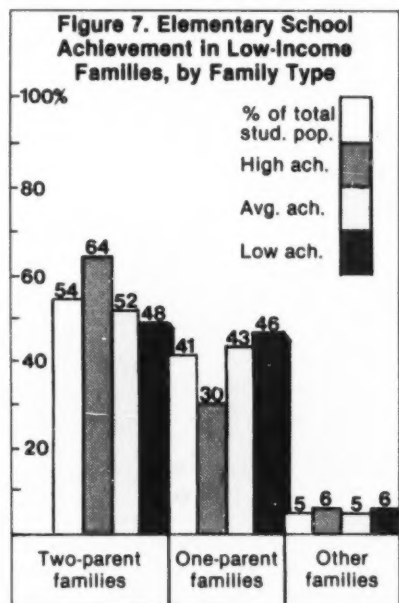
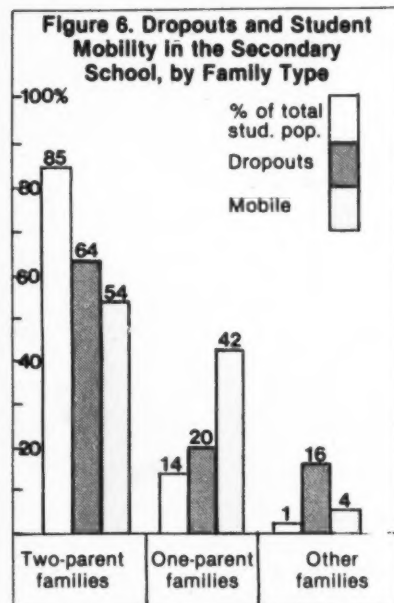
families. Yet they are suspended twice as often in the elementary grades as students living with two parents, and they comprise nearly 40% of the high school suspension cases.

Student mobility — Students living with one parent or with no natural parents move from school to school more frequently than do children living with two parents. This is true at both the elemen-

tary and high school levels.

Truancy — Students from two-parent homes contribute less than half (44%) of the incidence of truancy in the elementary school, while students from one-parent homes and those living with no natural parents cause more than half (56%).

Title I — The percentage of one-parent and other category children in Title I programs in the elementary school is dispro-



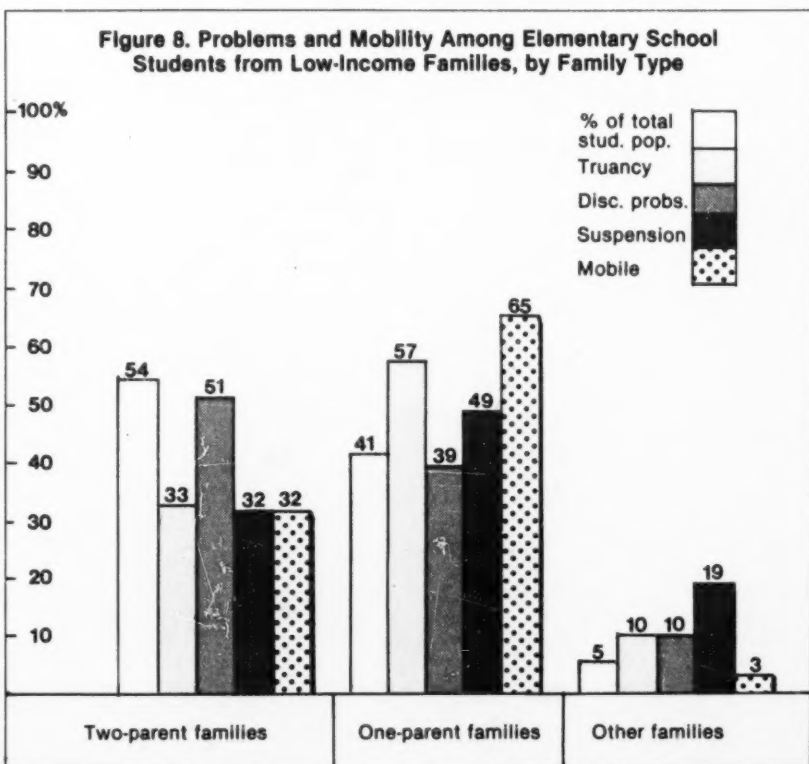
families in both the high-achievement and low-achievement groups at the elementary level. While the low numbers in the high-achievement group are distressing, the high numbers in the low-achievement group are alarming. Differences among high school students are less dramatic in both the high- and low-achievement areas, but there is still a disproportionately high number of secondary school students from one-parent and other situations in the low-achievement group. Schools must pay particular attention to this phenomenon.

Results of the study also show disparate representations in the following areas:

Tardiness — The incidence of tardiness in the elementary school by students from one-parent homes is excessive when compared with the other two groups. At the high school level, the incidence of tardiness also is inordinately high (39%) for students in one-parent families.

Discipline problems — Students living with one parent or with no natural parents create more than their share of discipline problems at both the elementary and the high school levels.

Suspensions — Students from the one-parent and other category homes represent only one-fourth of the school popula-



portionately high.

Expulsions — In this study, children at the secondary level from one-parent families were the *only* ones expelled.

Dropouts — Again, one-parent and other category secondary students comprise one-fourth of the student population and 40% of the total number of dropouts.

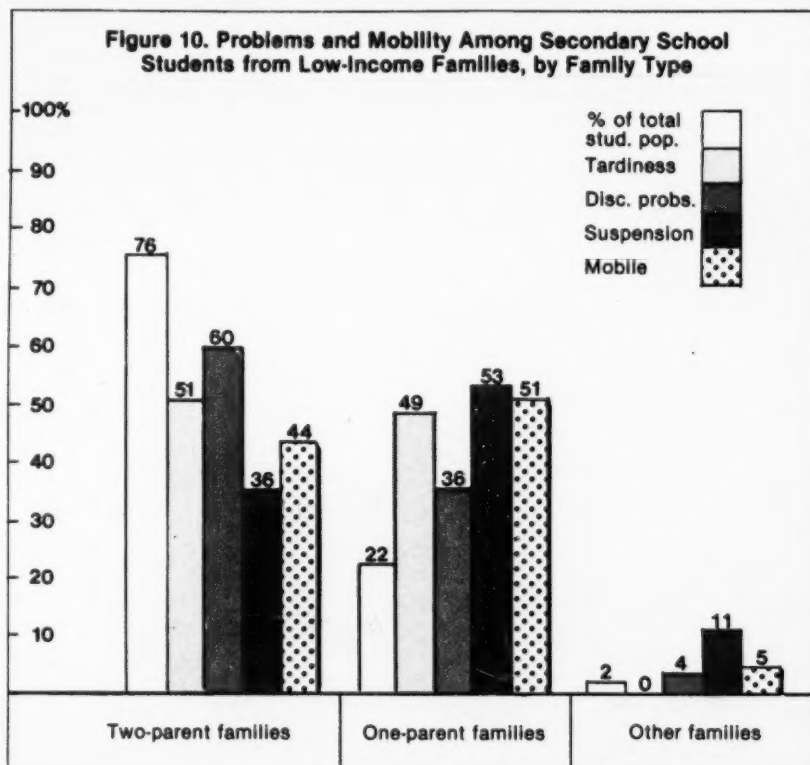
Comparison of groups of students in the three family types who are also in the low-income area reflects practically the same trends as the three family groups where income is not a consideration.

We shall compile final results and report on significant implications for elementary and secondary schools in a later phase of this study. Already, however, one can detect some obvious implications:

1. The rising number of single-parent families means that the nation's schools must face the problems of one-parent children in new and better ways.

2. Schools need to review and update student records and to identify children from one-parent homes in order that guidance counselors and teachers can become more sensitive and responsive to the needs of these children. On this point, the present study found that many schools identify one-parent children once but do not update their records during the child's entire school career, although family status may change frequently.

3. Schools must revise their calendars to make certain that working single parents have regular access to school per-



sonnel and activities after working hours.

4. School services and curriculum must undergo revision to better accommodate the newly identified needs of a growing number of children from one-

parent families.

5. School systems, through their adult education programs, must assume a major leadership role in providing effective programs in the field of parenting. □

PHI DELTA

June 1980

KAPPAN

**THE
SLOW
DEATH
OF A
PUBLIC
HIGH
SCHOOL**



**DUKE & MECKEL
ORNSTEIN
NEILL
JACOBS
FRYMIER
WINN
KINDSVATTER & LEVINE**

**Teacher Salaries and Inflation
Tradition vs. Efficiency in Typewriters
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Teacher Salaries: Past, Present, Future

by Allan C. Ornstein

Between 1969-70 and 1979-80, the average U.S. teacher lost \$1,468 in purchasing power. The future looks even more bleak, according to projections by Mr. Ornstein.

In a period marked by inflation, reduced student enrollment, an oversupply of teachers, and research which purports to show that extra expenditures to improve school quality have little effect on academic achievement, the budget squeeze has come to American schools. Legislators are trying to avoid deficit spending by cutting funds for education. In 1979 voters thwarted more than 50% of all attempts to increase property taxes, a primary source of school support. Because salaries of instructional staff accounted for nearly 65% of total public school costs in 1979-80, these trends are putting teachers on the defensive. They recognize the growing public pressure for staff reductions, larger classes, and salary increases that fail to match inflation.

Table 1 compares average salaries for teachers in 1969-70 and in 1979-80. During this 10-year period, the average salary of classroom teachers increased by \$7,366 — or 6.3% per year, compounded and based on the 1969-70 average salary of \$8,635. But if we estimate an average increase in the consumer price index of 8% per year (also compounded) for this same period, the annual decrease in buying power for teachers is 1.7% per year or .17% for these 10 years. In 1969 dollars, this amounts to \$7,167 — a loss of \$1,468 in purchasing power.

ALLAN C. ORNSTEIN is professor of education, Loyola University of Chicago. He is the author of 16 textbooks, the most recent of which are *Introduction to the Foundations of Education* (Rand-McNally, 1977), *Education and Social Inquiry* (Peacock, 1978), and *Looking into Teaching* (Rand-McNally, 1980).

State and regional differences in average teacher salaries are shown in Table 2. The greatest percentage increases (compounded over 10 years) occurred in Alaska (9.5%), Hawaii (7.7%), Kentucky (7.6%), Mississippi (7.5%), Colorado (7.5%), Rhode Island (7.4%), and Washington (7.3%). Of the 50 states, only Alaska managed to exceed the 8% inflation rate. However, Alaska was the state with the highest inflation rate in the U.S. during this period; Hawaii also experienced an inflation rate above the national average. Meanwhile, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Colorado started with low base salaries 10 years ago, and, despite higher percentage increases than most other states, teachers in those states today still earn lower salaries than the national average. When state inflation rates and base salaries for 1969-70 are taken into account, teachers in Rhode Island and Washington have made the greatest gains.

There are regional salary differences too. The average teacher salary in the Great Lakes region today (\$16,624) comes closest to the 1979-80 national average (\$16,001), just as it did in 1969-70. The Southeast continues to be the lowest-paid region (\$13,819), as it was 10 years ago, while the Far West (\$18,678) continues to rank at the top.

There are greater differences in salaries among states than among regions, however. Alaskan teachers are the highest paid, at an annual salary of \$26,173. Hawaii (\$19,750), New York (\$19,200), and California (\$19,090) follow. These states also ranked at the top 10 years ago, with Hawaii making the greatest dollar gain. The lowest salaries were reported in Mississippi (\$11,900), South Dakota (\$12,220), Arkansas (\$12,419), Vermont (\$12,430), and New Hampshire (\$12,550). The dollar may go further in the South than elsewhere, but some New England

Table 1. Average Salary of Public Classroom Teachers, 1969-70 and 1979-80*

	1969-70	1979-80	% Increase Over 1969-70	Purchasing Power in 1969 Dollars**
Average salary of classroom teachers	\$8,635	\$16,001	6.3	\$7,167
Elementary	8,412	15,661		
Secondary	8,891	16,387		

*Differences in salary between elementary and secondary teachers reflect the fact that the latter group has more experience and education.

**Author's estimate.

Source: Adapted from *Estimates of School Statistics, 1970-71* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1970), Table 7, p. 32; *Estimates of School Statistics, 1979-80* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1979), Table 7, p. 32.

states have experienced economic recession and high energy costs that have pinched the funds available for education.

As is often the case, averages conceal a great deal of variation. These figures do not show, for example, that the average teacher in Oak Park, Illinois, earns over \$8,000 a year more than other teachers in that state. Niles, Illinois, teachers earn over \$10,000 a year more than other Illinois teachers, and so on. The range is narrower in Southern states where the mean salaries are low, but sizable differences still exist. In Georgia, for example, if you teach in Cobb County your maximum salary is more than \$5,000 lower than if you teach in Atlanta.

Table 3 compares teacher salaries with variations in the intermediate standard budget. The intermediate standard budget is set annually by the Department of Labor as the amount of income required for a family of four, living in a solidly middle-class but not affluent fashion. As the last column in Table 3 indicates, the average teacher salary, as a percentage of

the standard intermediate budget, rose substantially from the end of the 1960s to the early 1970s. Then it began to decline, leveling off at a little better than 80% of the amount necessary for a middle-class life-style — until 1979, when it dipped below.

Projected average annual salaries of classroom teachers during the next decade are shown in Table 4. The calculations are based on a continuation of the trend from 1969-70 to 1979-80, using \$16,001 as the base and adding 6.3% each year. These projected gains ignore intervening variables that may affect future salaries, such as increased inflation or price and wage controls, and they assume numerous constants, such as public sentiment toward educational spending and teacher pressure for salary increases. With a continuous oversupply of teachers, eroding school budgets, and taxpayer pressure to reduce school spending, it is doubtful that teachers can expect average

annual salary increases of much more than 6.3% in the foreseeable future.

Although the projections are not exact,

Table 3. Comparison of an Intermediate Standard of Living For a Family of Four with Average Salaries Paid Public Classroom Teachers, 1967-1979

Budget Date	Intermed. Standard Budget	Average Salary Paid Teachers	Ratio of Teacher's Salary/ Intermed. Budget
Spr. 1967	\$ 9,076	\$ 6,830	75.3%
Spr. 1969	10,077	8,635	85.7
Spr. 1970	10,666	9,269	86.9
Fall 1971	10,971	9,705	88.5
Fall 1972	11,446	10,176	88.9
Fall 1973	12,626	10,675	84.5
Fall 1974	14,333	11,656	81.3
Fall 1975	15,318	12,600	82.3
Fall 1976	16,236	13,297	81.9
Fall 1977	17,106	14,247	83.3
Fall 1978	18,622	15,040	80.1
Fall 1979	20,856a	16,001b	76.7

Note: a = author's estimates, based on 12% inflation for 1979. b = See Tables 1, 2.

Source: Price, Budgets, Salaries, and Income, 1979 (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1979), p. 13.

Table 2. Average Salary of Public Classroom Teachers by Regions and States, 1969-70 and 1979-80

Regions and States	1969-70	1979-80	% Inc., Compounded Over 10 Years*	Regions and States	1969-70	1979-80	% Inc., Compounded Over 10 Years*
50 States & D.C.	\$ 8,635	\$16,001	6.4**	Plains	7,947	14,601	6.3
New England	8,694	16,298	6.5	Iowa	8,398	15,030	6.0
Conn.	9,271	16,344	5.8	Kans.	7,620	14,016	6.3
Me.	7,572	13,100	5.6	Minn.	8,658	16,751	6.8
Mass.	8,770	17,500	7.2	Mo.	7,844	13,725	5.8
N.H.	7,789	12,550	4.9	Nebr.	7,354	13,519	6.3
R.I.	8,776	17,896	7.4	N.D.	6,896	13,148	7.0
Vt.	7,960	12,430	4.6	S.D.	6,403	12,220	6.8
Mideast (Incl. D.C.)	9,655	17,987	6.4	Southwest	7,401	14,076	6.6
Del.	9,015	16,157	6.0	Ariz.	8,715	15,835	6.2
Md.	9,383	17,580	6.5	N.M.	7,796	13,915	6.0
N.J.	9,150	17,075	6.4	Okl.	6,882	13,210	6.7
N.Y.	10,390	19,200	6.3	Tex.	7,277	14,000	6.8
Penn.	8,858	16,760	6.6	Rocky Mountains	7,632	15,226	7.2
Southeast	7,319	13,819	6.6	Colo.	7,760	15,950	7.5
Ala.	6,817	13,520	7.1	Ida.	6,884	13,615	7.1
Ark.	6,277	12,419	7.1	Mont.	7,606	14,680	6.8
Fla.	8,410	14,570	5.7	Utah	7,643	14,965	7.0
Ga.	7,278	14,027	6.8	Wyo.	8,271	16,030	6.8
Ky.	6,930	14,480	7.6	Far West	10,015	18,678	6.4
La.	7,028	13,770	7.0	Calif.	10,324	19,090	6.3
Miss.	5,798	11,900	7.5	Nev.	9,248	16,390	5.9
N.C.	7,494	14,355	6.7	Ore.	8,814	16,245	6.3
S.C.	6,883	13,000	6.6	Wash.	9,237	18,745	7.3
Tenn.	7,050	13,668	6.9	Alaska	10,560	26,173	9.5
Va.	8,070	14,025	5.7	Hawaii	9,440	19,750	7.7
W.Va.	7,650	13,642	6.0				
Great Lakes	9,137	16,624	6.2				
Ill.	9,569	17,399	6.2				
Ind.	8,832	15,078	5.5				
Mich.	9,823	18,840	6.7				
Ohio	8,300	15,187	6.2				
Wis.	9,000	15,930	5.9				

*Author's Estimates Based on Texas Instruments MBA (1969 salary $\times$ PV $\times$ 1979 Salary $\times$ FV $\times$ 10 years $\times$ N $\times$ CPT $\times$ %).

**The NEA uses a 6.3 figure because of non-rounding (see Table 1). The author has rounded 6.36 to 6.4.

Source: Same as Table 1.

Table 4. Average Annual Salaries of Public Classroom Teachers, 1969-70 to 1979-80

School Year	Average Salary	Percentage Increase
1969-70	\$ 8,635	
1970-71	9,269	7.3
1971-72	9,706	4.7
1972-73	10,164	4.7
1973-74	10,673	5.0
1974-75	11,595	8.6
1975-76	12,448	6.8
1976-77	13,235	6.3
1977-78	14,082	6.4
1978-79	15,057	6.7
1979-80	16,001	6.3
Average annual % increase		6.3

Projected Salary Based on Average Annual 6.3% Increase

School Year	Projected Average Salary
1980-81	\$17,009
1981-82	18,081
1982-83	19,220
1983-84	20,431
1984-85	21,718
1985-86	23,086
1986-87	24,540
1987-88	26,086
1988-89	27,729
1989-90	29,476
1990-91	31,333

they correspond with my previous projections of teacher salaries, using both this method and others.* The data indicate that in 1985-86 the average teacher salary will be approximately \$23,100; by 1990 it will approximate \$31,300. Whether these salaries will correspond with a middle-class or intermediate standard budget will depend on the future rate of inflation. Using the past few years as guidelines, and considering our current and future monetary and fiscal policies, inflation will probably be in double digits throughout most of the 1980s. Most likely, then, future teacher salaries will fall further below the intermediate budget for a family of four.

Table 5 provides some data about future salaries in relation to future inflation and the standard of living. Figuring

an annual inflation rate of 10% (considered modest today) and using a 1979 intermediate standard budget of \$20,856, some grim conclusions can be drawn. By 1985 the average teacher's salary will amount to less than two-thirds of the

family budget needed for an intermediate standard of living, and by 1990 it will approach a mere half.*

These data and projections pose a grave threat to the teaching profession, affecting entry standards, job performance, and teacher morale. The bleak prospect will put tremendous pressure on teachers organizations to resort to strikes for improved salaries. Strikes, in turn, will pit teachers against the public. Departments and colleges of education will not escape unscathed. Fewer students — especially the academically talented — will seek careers in teaching. Unless we can convince the public that education is a wise investment, the future looks grim indeed. □

Table 5. Comparison of an Intermediate Standard of Living for a Family of Four with Average Salaries Paid Public Classroom Teachers, 1980-1990

Year	Intermed. Standard Budget, Inflation Rate 10%	Average Projected Teacher Salary, At 6.3%	Ratio, Teacher's Salary/ Intermed. Budget
1980	\$22,942	\$17,709	77.2%
1981	25,236	18,081	71.6
1982	27,760	19,220	69.2
1983	30,536	20,431	66.9
1984	33,590	21,718	64.7
1985	36,949	23,086	62.5
1986	40,644	24,540	60.4
1987	44,708	26,086	58.3
1988	49,179	27,729	56.4
1989	54,097	29,476	54.5
1990	59,507	31,333	52.7

*Using this method, I projected three years in advance the average teacher salary in 1979-80 to be \$16,109. It turned out, of course, to be \$16,001. See Allan C. Ornstein, *Education and Social Inquiry* (Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1978), Tables 6.4 and 6.5, p. 231. Based on a survey of what the future has in store for education, I have also predicted "with better than 50% possibility" that the average teacher will earn slightly more than \$30,000 by 1990. See Allan C. Ornstein and Harry L. Miller, *Looking into Teaching* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1980), Table 14.2, p. 496.

*Some readers may raise the point that other occupations will also suffer a salary/inflation gap, but the extent of that gap is beyond the scope of this article. Other readers may assert that a 6.3% salary increase for teachers during the 1980s is too low. That figure is the appropriate choice based on the precedent of the last 10 years (see Table 4). Moreover, it does not vary substantially from the last three years, when inflation was double-digit. In the same vein, a 10% inflation figure could also be considered too low; a higher adjustment for annual salary increases and inflation could lead to a worsening gap between future teacher salaries and inflation, since the latter would most likely vary more than salaries.

An Update: Who Would Benefit From Tuition Tax Credits?

by Martha J. Jacobs

This report brings new nationally representative data to bear on a highly controversial proposal. It tends to support the opponents of tax credits, who believe they are unfair to certain regions, to minorities, and to the poor.

Much of the controversy in discussions of tuition tax credits for elementary and secondary education has been over the question of who would benefit. Opponents have charged that tax credits would benefit the traditionally Northern, white, and wealthy private school population. Proponents challenge this characterization, claiming that the mix of private school students has changed in recent years, and that tax credits would expand private school opportunities for minorities and the poor, providing significant benefits to families in all regions of the U.S.¹ Yet until now

accurate estimates of the distributive impacts of tax credit proposals have been unavailable, because we lacked nationally representative information about the tuitions paid by private school students.

This report examines new information on private school attendance and tuition, gathered for the first time on the October 1978 Supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS).² These data are used to answer the following questions about the Packwood-Moynihan proposal for tuition tax credits,* which would have provided a credit of 50% of tuition up to \$500 per child:

1. Would tax credits be distributed disproportionately across the nation's geographic regions?

2. How would minorities fare under tax credits?

3. Would tax credits be regressive, primarily aiding the wealthiest families?

The report concludes with suggestions for modifying tuition tax credit proposals to target benefits more heavily on the disadvantaged.

1. Regional Distribution

Many people have assumed that tuition tax credits for elementary and secondary education would primarily aid families in the North, where private school attendance rates have historically been highest. However, this assumption needs to be scrutinized in view of recent shifts in regional private school attendance patterns and the new tuition data. Regional differences in private school attendance rates have diminished somewhat in recent

MARTHA J. JACOBS is a policy analyst in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Budget, Department of Education, Washington, D.C. A longer version of this article will appear this year in the *Journal of Education Finance*, vol. 5, no. 3.

*The Packwood-Moynihan proposal died in the last hours of the Ninety-fifth Congress. See Kappan Newsfront, December 1978, p. 266.

Tax credits would be claimed mainly by the families of white private school children.

Table 1. Patterns of Private School Enrollment, Tuition, and Tax Credits by Region, Race, and Family Income

REGION	Distrib. of Tot. Enroll. (Pub. & Priv.) %	Distrib. Of Priv. Enroll. %	Priv. Attend. Rate %	Median Tuition	Med. Tax Cr. per Child**	Distrib. Of Total Benefits %
Elementary						
Northeast	23	31	15.2	\$250	\$125	20
North Central	27	30	12.9	238	119	19
South	33	25	8.4	636	318	41
West	17	14	9.6	510	255	19
	100	100				100
Secondary						
Northeast	23	34	12.1	\$917	\$459	35
North Central	28	28	8.2	819	410	25
South	31	25	6.6	959	480	26
West	18	13	5.9	948	474	14
	100	100				100
RACIAL/ETHNIC BACKGROUND*						
Elementary						
White	83	92	12.6	\$342	\$171	88
Black	15	6	4.7	477	239	8
Hispanic	(6)*	(6)*	9.9	388	194	(6)*
Secondary						
White	82	93	9.0	\$901	\$451	95
Black	15	5	2.9	917	459	5
Hispanic	(6)*	(3)*	5.0	847	424	(3)*
FAMILY INCOME						
Elementary						
Under \$5,000	9	3	3.4	\$243	\$137	2
\$5,000-7,499	9	4	5.6	405	203	5
\$7,500-9,999	8	5	7.4	263	132	4
\$10,000-14,999	20	17	9.9	271	136	13
\$15,000-19,999	17	20	13.4	343	172	19
\$20,000-24,999	13	18	15.6	323	162	16
\$25,000 & over	15	23	17.1	514	257	33
Not reported	8	9	11.9	337	169	8
	100	100				100
Secondary						
Under \$5,000	7	3	2.9	\$687	\$344	2
\$5,000-7,499	8	3	2.5	842	421	2
\$7,500-9,999	7	4	5.0	824	412	4
\$10,000-14,999	16	11	5.7	777	389	10
\$15,000-19,999	16	15	7.7	810	405	14
\$20,000-24,999	14	15	8.8	876	438	15
\$25,000 & over	21	37	14.1	994	497	41
Not reported	9	12	10.9	931	466	13
	100	100				100
NATIONAL TOTALS						
Elem. (Gr. 1-8)	28,467,000	3,233,000	11.4	\$356	\$178	\$575,474,000
Secon. (Gr. 9-12)	15,131,000	1,244,000	8.2	901	431	561,044,000
Total	43,598,000	4,477,000	10.3	NA	NA	\$1,136,518,000

*Table does not include information for children of races other than white or black. Also, because the Current Population Survey question on national origin is separate from the race question, persons classified as being of Hispanic origin may be of any race. Consequently, figures shown for blacks and whites will not add to 100%, and those shown for Hispanic-origin students are not additive.

**Median tax credits are calculated by multiplying the median tuition for each category by the percentage of tuition costs covered by the tax credit, i.e., 50%.

years, as a result of enrollment declines that plagued Catholic schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s (especially in the Northeastern and North Central states), combined with more recent growth in private enrollments in the South and West.³ Despite these shifts, significant regional differences remain: Private school attendance rates are highest in the Northern regions and lowest in the South and West (see column 3 of the accompanying table).

Previous speculation about the distribution of tax credits has assumed that tuitions do not differ by region. In fact, tuitions vary significantly across the nation, especially at the elementary level, with students in the South and West paying much more to attend private schools (column 4 of the table).

The regional distribution of tax credits for secondary students would parallel attendance patterns, conforming to earlier predictions that families in the Northeast would receive the largest share of the benefits (column 6). However, because tuitions range so widely, this pattern does not hold for elementary students. Thus families in the South would claim 41% of the tax credits for elementary students, although the South has only 25% of such students.

2. How Would Minorities Fare?

Some people have cited earlier CPS data showing a very small portion of non-white students attending private schools as support for the claim that tax credits would overwhelmingly benefit white students. But others have emphasized the historical importance of private (primarily Catholic) schools in providing an education for immigrant populations and have pointed to recent increases in private enrollment among minority children as evidence of their continuing commitment to provide equal educational opportunities.⁴

The 1978 data reveal that, despite recent increases in private school enrollment among blacks and students of Hispanic origin, pronounced differences persist in private school attendance rates for students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Differences between black and white students are especially large, with private school attendance rates among whites nearly three times higher than those among blacks. Students of Hispanic origin are also less likely than white students to attend private schools, particularly private secondary schools.

The information on tuition shows for the first time that black students tend to pay more to attend private schools than their white and Hispanic-origin peers, es-

pecially at the elementary level.⁵ However, because black students represent such a low proportion of private school enrollments, they would generate only a small portion of tax credits, a share much lower than their representation in the total student population. Tax credits for families of Hispanic-origin students would be distributed roughly in proportion to their share in the total population of elementary school (but not high school) children. The vast majority of tax credits would be claimed by the families of white private school children.

3. The Regressiveness Question

Perhaps the objection most often raised against tuition tax credits is that they would be regressive, because children from the wealthiest families tend to be overrepresented in the private school population. Proponents of credits argue that private schools serve students from a wide range of economic backgrounds. They say tax credits are needed to maintain and expand private school opportunities for low- and middle-income students.

While it is true that students from all family income groupings attend private school, the likelihood of attending increases sharply as family income rises. Thus private school attendance rates for students from families with incomes of \$25,000 or more are about five times higher than among children from families with incomes of less than \$5,000.

In contrast to this strong pattern in attendance rates, no consistent relationship is evident between family income and median tuition. In general, median tuitions fluctuate across family income categories. The exceptions are at the extremes of the income scale, where ability to pay — as measured by family income — seems to be reflected in tuition levels.

The estimates presented here lend support to the speculation that tax credits would be regressive. Although the median credit per child would vary across income categories, the overall distribution of tax credits is heavily skewed in favor of families at the highest income levels. Children from families with incomes of \$25,000 or more would generate a share of credits roughly twice as large as their representation in the school-age population, while children in families with incomes of less than \$5,000 would receive a share only about one-fourth as large as their representation in the school-age population.

Some Conclusions

Despite reports of recent shifts in the composition of private school enrollments, then, tax credits would primarily aid children from the most advantaged families. This finding undoubtedly will be used to reinforce the position of those

who oppose any form of aid to private education. It may persuade others to look for alternatives to tax credits.⁶ For those who remain convinced that the tax credit approach should be pursued, these results may suggest further refinements. If benefits are to be targeted more heavily on the disadvantaged, provisions must be designed specifically for this purpose. For example, a "refundability" provision, allowing a family whose tax liability is lower than the credit to receive a refund, is necessary if low-income families are to benefit. (The Packwood-Moynihan proposal, and the estimates presented here, included such a provision.) Excluding families above a certain income level would avoid tax expenditures to the wealthiest families. Still another possible targeting approach would be to design a graduated scale of credits based on the ratio of private school expenses to family income.

This report is an initial step in bringing nationally representative data to bear on the topic of tuition tax credits. However, many questions remain about the reasons for the attendance and tuition patterns we observed and how these patterns would change in response to tax credits. As the scope and quality of information about private education continue to improve, further exploration of such questions will become possible. For now, this report moves well beyond the very speculative estimates that have formed the basis for past discussions of tuition tax credits, setting the stage for a better-informed debate.

1. For a thorough and lively discussion of the tuition tax credit issue, see *Phi Delta Kappan*, December

1978: "The Case for Tuition Tax Credits," by Daniel P. Moynihan (p. 274) and "The Case Against Tuition Tax Credits," by Ernest F. Hollings (p. 277).

2. The Current Population Survey is a monthly sample survey of approximately 50,000 households (or about 1 in 1,500 households) conducted by the Bureau of the Census. Each October, data are obtained on the school enrollment of persons 3 to 34 years old. A question on whether each person enrolled attends a public or private school is asked, and public or private enrollment can be cross-tabulated with characteristics such as regional location, family income, and racial or ethnic background. At the request of the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation and the National Center for Education Statistics, the following question on private school tuitions was included for the first time in the October 1978 survey: "What is the amount of tuition and fees for this school year at the school [your child] is attending? (Include only fees required for school entry; exclude room and board, books, uniforms, school supplies, and lunches.)"

3. Donald Erickson, Richard L. Nault, and Bruce S. Cooper, "Recent Trends in U.S. Non-Public Schools," in *Declining Enrollments: The Challenge of the Coming Decade* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1978) and in *The Condition of Education: 1977 Edition* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1977), p. 192.

4. Numerous examples of both lines of argumentation can be found in the published Senate hearings on tuition tax credits: *Tuition Tax Relief Bills, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Taxation and Debt Management Generally of the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Ninety-fifth Congress, 18, 19, and 20 January 1978*, in two parts. In particular, see the statement of Will D. Davis, president of the National School Boards Association (Part I, p. 337) for the opposition view and the statement of Donald A. Erickson, director of the Center for Research on Private Education, University of San Francisco (Part I, p. 157), supporting tuition tax credits.

5. A likely explanation for the higher average tuition paid by blacks is that although many attend Catholic schools they may not be eligible for tuition reductions that may be given to parishioners.

6. One such alternative is S. 1101, introduced last May by Senator Moynihan, to expand basic educational opportunity grants (BEOGs) from postsecondary education to elementary and secondary education as well. Because BEOGs are based on need, they would be targeted on the lowest-income families. □

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HAMMEL, WOODEN, PATERNO, MUDRA, MANNO, UNDERWOOD, HORN

The Passing Game: Student-Athletes as Illegal Receivers



The 12th Annual Gallup Poll: No Decline in Public School Credibility (See Page 33)

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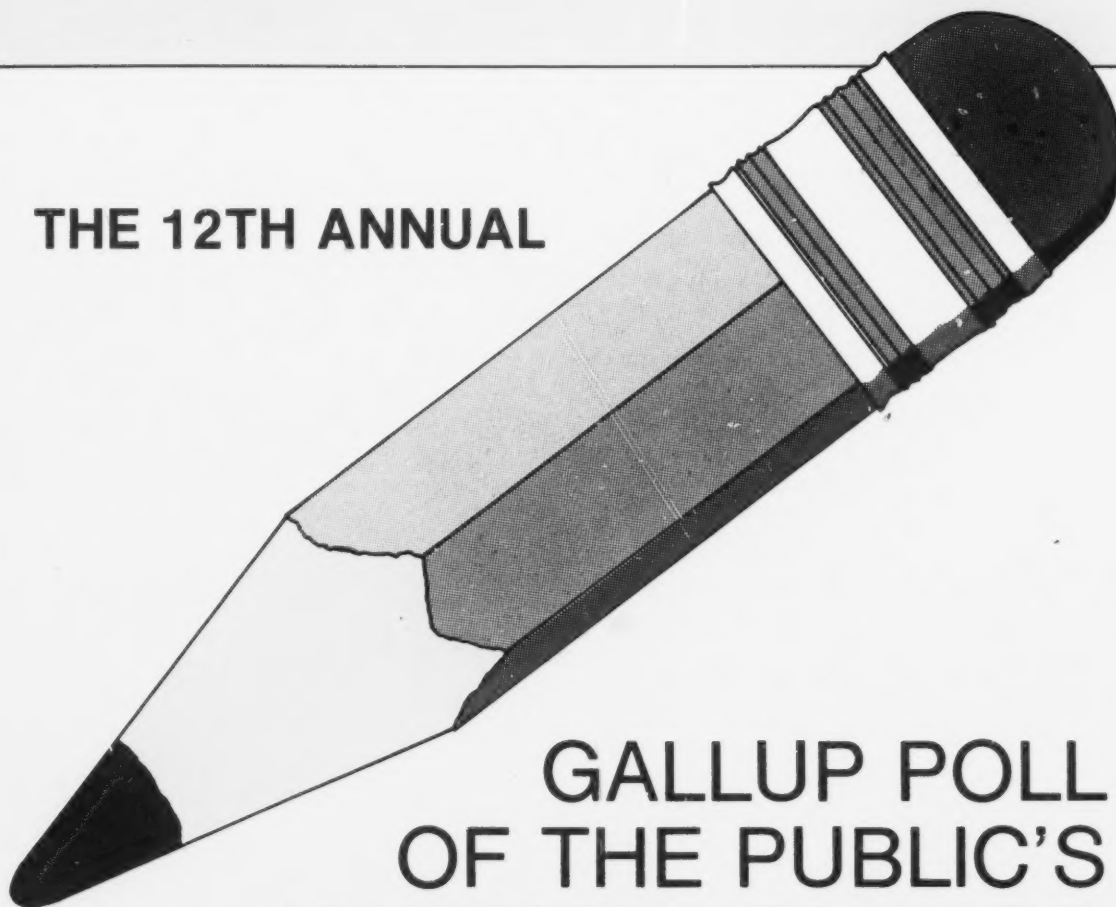
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THE 12TH ANNUAL



GALLUP POLL OF THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by George H. Gallup

Once again the Kappan is privileged to publish the full report of an attitude survey conducted by the Gallup Poll. The Gallup education polls are an established source of reliable information concerning trends in opinion about significant school questions. For school officials, the polls are valuable in at least two important ways: They alert decision makers to overall public reaction to a variety of school programs and policies. And they serve as a national benchmark against which local attitudes may be measured.

If local officials wish to employ questions asked in the Gallup education surveys, they are welcome to do so. The questions are not copyrighted. Moreover, no limitations are placed upon the use of information contained in this report,

beyond customary credit to source and observance of the usual canons of accuracy and completeness of quotation.

This year Phi Delta Kappa's Dissemination Division, assisted by the Gallup Organization, is prepared to help school districts and other agencies to survey local populations. For details of this service, called PACE, see the box on page 46.

The Charles F. Kettering Foundation, through its affiliate, ILL.EIAI, is now financing the education poll, while Phi Delta Kappa has been authorized to publish it in full before distribution to other media. We are grateful to B. Frank Brown and John Bahner of ILL.DIEIAI and Kettering for their strong support of the project. — SME

Purpose of the Study

This survey, which measures the attitudes of Americans toward their public schools, is the 12th annual survey in this series. Funding for the survey is currently provided by I/D/E/A, the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. A great effort is made each year to deal with issues of greatest concern to both educators and to the public. New as well as trend questions are included in this and every survey.

To be sure that the survey would embrace the most important issues in the field of education, the Kettering Foundation sent letters to educators across the nation asking for their ideas. Following this, an executive committee, including representatives of the Kettering Foundation and Gallup, met to discuss issues, evaluate proposed questions, and to suggest new questions for the survey.

We wish to thank all persons who contributed their ideas to this survey.

Research Procedure

The Sample. The sample used in this survey embraced a total of 1,547 adults (18 years of age and older). It is described as a modified probability sample of the nation. Personal, in-home interviewing was conducted in all areas of the nation and in all types of communities. A description of the sample will be found at the end of this report.

Time of Interviewing. The fieldwork for this study was carried out during the period of 1-8 May 1980.

The Report. In the tables that follow, the heading "Parochial School Parents" includes not only parents of students who attend parochial schools but also parents of students who attend private or independent schools. This heading is used because parochial school students outnumber private or independent school students.

Due allowance must be made for statistical variation, especially in the case of findings for small groups where relatively few respondents were interviewed.

The findings of this report apply only to the U.S. as a whole and not to individual local communities. Local surveys, using the same questions, can be conducted to determine how local areas compare with the national norm.

Major Problems Confronting the Public Schools in 1980

Discipline continues to be cited most often when people are asked to name the major problems facing the public schools in their own communities. Approximately one person in every four names "discipline." As was the case last year, second place goes to the "use of dope and drugs." Named in third place is "poor curriculum and poor standards."

Using such an "open" question permits persons interviewed to cite any problems that come to mind without benefit of a list. In fact, they can name as many as they wish. This question approach permits any new problems that may arise in any part of the nation to find their way onto the list.

The list of problems, as named by the public this year, remains much the same as last year with no significant changes.

Here is the question:

What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this community must deal?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents** %
Lack of discipline	26	24	26	48
Use of dope/drugs	14	15	12	10
Poor curriculum/poor standards	11	11	10	10
Lack of proper financial support	10	9	11	9
Integration/busing (combined)	10	10	10	10
Large school/too many classes/overcrowding	7	6	8	5
Difficulty in getting good teachers	6	5	7	7
Parents' lack of interest	6	5	6	5
Teachers' lack of interest	6	4	7	8
Pupils' lack of interest/truancy	5	5	6	7
Crime/vandalism	4	5	3	5
Mismanagement of funds/programs	3	2	3	1
Drinking/alcoholism	2	2	1	3
Problems with administration	2	2	1	—
Lack of proper facilities	2	2	2	5
Communication problems	2	2	1	1
School board policies	1	1	1	2
Government interference	1	*	2	3
Teachers' strikes	1	1	1	1
Parents' involvement in school activities	1	1	1	2
Too many schools/declining enrollment	1	1	1	—
Transportation	1	1	*	—
Non-English-speaking students	1	*	2	1
There are no problems	3	2	6	2
Miscellaneous	2	2	3	1
Don't know	17	21	9	8

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)

*Less than 1%.

**Includes parents of students attending private and independent schools as well as parochial schools.

1980 Ratings of the Public Schools

Since 1974, when this rating series was first introduced, there has been a decline in the ratings given by the public to the public schools, but this decline has come to a halt. And there is some evidence from the results, although the changes are not statistically significant, that a turn has come.

The decline in the ratings may be due to changes in the emphasis placed upon the basics in many school districts, or to a better understanding among the general public of just what the schools are achieving. In any event, the downward trend has ended, at least for the present.

The question:

Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, and FAIL to denote the quality of their work. Suppose the public schools themselves, in this community, were graded in the same way. What grade would you give the public schools here — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?

Ratings Given the Public Schools	National Totals					
	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975
A rating	10	8	9	11	13	13
B rating	25	26	27	26	29	30
C rating	29	30	30	28	28	21
D rating	12	11	11	11	10	9
FAIL	6	7	8	5	6	7
Don't know	18	18	15	19	14	13

Examination of the results by major groups making up the U.S. population indicates that the persons most dissatisfied with their local public schools are blacks living in the North, mostly in central cities. A total of 33% of Northern blacks give their schools a D or FAIL rating. This contrasts with a figure of 13% for Southern blacks.

Persons living in rural communities and small towns and cities— under 50,000 population — give the highest ratings to their schools; those in towns over 50,000, the lowest ratings.

As in past surveys, younger adults who were interviewed in this study are more critical of the schools than those in older age brackets.

Persons living in the West rate their schools lower than do those who live in other areas of the nation. As in past surveys, inhabitants of the Midwest and South like their schools best; those in the East and West, least.

Further breakdowns follow:

	A	B	C	D	FAIL	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL TOTALS	10	25	29	12	6	18
Sex						
Men	10	27	28	12	6	17
Women	9	24	30	11	6	20
Race						
White	10	26	29	11	6	18
Nonwhite	9	20	29	15	7	20
Age						
18 to 29 years	4	23	39	14	7	13
30 to 49 years	14	28	28	14	5	11
50 and over	10	24	22	8	7	29
Community Size						
1 million & over	10	20	26	19	10	15
500,000 - 999,999	6	24	34	12	7	17
50,000 - 499,999	10	21	32	11	6	20
2,500 - 49,999	11	36	28	5	4	16
Under 2,500	10	28	27	10	4	21
Central city	8	17	31	16	11	17
Education						
Grade school	14	23	16	0	4	34
High school	8	24	33	12	7	16
College	9	30	28	12	6	15
Region						
East	8	27	24	14	9	18
Midwest	11	29	33	7	5	15
South	11	25	29	12	4	19
West	7	18	30	15	8	22
Region/Race						
Northern white	9	26	30	11	6	18
Southern white	11	27	27	12	5	18
Northern black	8	19	25	19	14	15
Southern black	11	20	33	12	1	23

Public Confidence in American Institutions — 1980

To shed light on how the public schools stand in public respect when compared with other American institutions, a question was included in this year's survey asking respondents how much confidence they have — "a great deal," "a fair amount," or "very little" — in

several institutions. If respondents answered "none" or were "undecided," this is also recorded below.

The public schools do well in such a comparison of institutions, ranking second only to "the church, or organized religion."

The question:

How much confidence do you, yourself, have in these American institutions to serve the public's needs — a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, or very little?

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Very Little	None (Volunteered)	Undecided
	%	%	%	%	%
The church	42	40	15	2	1
The public schools	28	46	20	3	3
The courts	19	45	28	5	3
Local government	19	51	23	4	3
State government	17	52	24	4	3
National government	14	47	31	5	3
Labor unions	17	38	30	9	6
Big business	13	42	36	5	4

From the results shown here we can conclude that even though the public is critical of the public schools, they still hold them in relatively high regard when compared with other public institutions.

Ways to Improve Education In Your Community

What thoughts or suggestions do citizens have for improving education in their own communities? To gain insight into their views, the following question was asked:

Here are a number of things which may have a good effect on the education students receive in the public schools of this community. Will you choose four (from a list of 14 suggestions) which you think are particularly important.

Of the 14 suggestions listed, the one that receives top priority is "well-educated (trained) teachers and principals." Second in importance, among the public's selections, is "emphasis on basic education"; third is "teachers and principals personally interested in the progress of students."

It should be pointed out that the question places the emphasis upon "education." School morale and community support may be much more closely linked with winning teams and extracurricular activities.

Perhaps the greatest surprise in the public's selection is the relatively low priority given to "small classes" as a way to improve education.

Here are the results ranked in descending order of importance:

	National Totals	No Children In Schools	Public School Parents	Parochial School Parents
	%	%	%	%
1. Well-educated teachers and principals	50	50	48	64
2. Emphasis on basics such as reading, writing, computation	49	48	52	52
3. Teachers and principals personally interested in progress of students	44	43	48	38

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
4. Good parent/teacher relationships	40	39	42	44
5. Careful check on student progress and effort	32	32	32	39
6. An orderly but not rigid atmosphere	27	26	28	38
7. Useful materials and adequate supplies	25	25	27	16
8. Small classes	25	24	28	20
9. Special classes for handicapped students	24	25	21	17
10. High goals and expectations on part of students	19	19	17	25
11. Wide variety of vocational courses	18	17	19	20
12. Advanced classes for the gifted	12	12	11	14
13. Extracurricular activities	6	5	7	7
14. Successful athletic teams	4	4	5	5
Don't know/ no answer	5	7	4	1

What Level of Government Should Decide Curriculum Content?

The American public continues to believe that the local school board should have the greatest influence in deciding what is taught in the public schools. Even the state government wins few supporters as the agency that should decide what is taught locally.

In most European nations the curriculum is determined by the central government. With education now being represented within the U.S. government by a Cabinet position, the issue of who should set school curriculum is almost certain to arise here in the U.S. in coming years.

The question:

In your opinion, who should have the *greatest* influence in deciding what is taught in the public schools here — the federal government, the state government, or the local school board?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
The federal government	9	9	8	10
The state government	15	16	15	15
The local school board	68	66	70	70
Don't know	8	9	7	5

Further breakdowns:

	Federal Government %	State Government %	Local School Board %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	9	15	68	8
Sex				
Men	10	16	66	8
Women	7	15	70	8
Race				
White	8	16	68	8
Nonwhite	11	14	64	11

	Federal Government %	State Government %	Local School Board %	Don't Know %
Age				
18 to 29 years	11	17	68	4
30 to 49 years	10	14	69	7
50 & over	6	15	66	13
Community Size				
1 million & over	8	9	71	12
500,000 - 999,999	9	16	68	7
50,000 - 499,999	13	17	62	8
2,500 - 49,999	6	16	68	10
Under 2,500	6	17	71	6
Education				
Grade school	4	13	64	19
High school	9	15	69	7
College	11	16	67	6
Region				
East	8	14	68	10
Midwest	8	11	75	6
South	9	17	66	8
West	10	21	59	10

Adult Education

Extrapolating from the data, about 45 million Americans (age 18 and older) say that they have taken courses in an adult education program or are presently engaged in such a program. A total of 13 million say they have taken such a course during the last year.

By far the greatest number of persons enrolled come from the 18-to-29 age group and from those who have attended college. Adult education is much more popular in the West than in other sections of the country. The lowest percentage of enrollees in adult education programs live in Eastern states.

The question, first asked in 1950 by the Gallup Poll and repeated in 1978 and again in the present survey, is:

Are you now taking, or have you ever taken, any courses in an adult education program?

	1950 %	1978 %	1980 %
Yes	20	31	29
No	80	68	70
Don't know	*	1	1

*Less than 1%.

Other breakdowns follow:

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes	29	27	31	47
No	70	72	69	53
Don't know	1	1	*	*

*Less than 1%.

Those respondents who said they had taken a course in an adult education program were then asked, "When was that?" Eight percent said they had taken a course within the last year, 8% said one to three years ago, and 13% said over three years ago.

Below is a complete sample breakdown of all persons interviewed in the survey who say they have taken an adult education course during the last year:

Sex	%
Men	8
Women	8
Race	
White	9
Nonwhite	5
Age	
18 to 29 years	14
30 to 49 years	7
50 & over	4
Education	
Grade school	1
High school	6
College	15
Community Size	
1 million & over	6
500,000 - 999,999	13
50,000 - 499,999	10
2,500 - 49,999	7
Under 2,500	6
Region	
East	5
Midwest	8
South	7
West	15

Keeping in Touch with Parents Of Schoolchildren

One of the complaints that parents voice is that the school does not keep them sufficiently well informed about the progress of their children or give them enough guidance as to what they, as parents, can do at home to help their children in school.

One of the most successful efforts to keep in close touch with parents is the plan worked out by Superintendent Billy Reagan of the Houston Independent School District. His work in Houston gave rise to the following question asked in the present survey:

In your opinion, should or should not parents be asked to meet with school personnel before each new school semester to examine the grades, test scores, and career goals for each child and to work out a program to be followed both in school and at home?

Wide approval for this suggestion was found throughout the nation, as the following figures reveal:

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes, favor this plan	84	85	83	83
No, do not favor	11	9	14	14
Don't know	5	6	3	3

The highest vote in favor of the plan was found among Northern blacks. They voted for it 95 to 1.

Overwhelming support for this idea comes from every group in the population in every area of the nation.

The Houston plan, which relies greatly on computers, keeps parents in almost constant touch with school personnel regarding the progress and problems of their children in this public school system.

Further breakdowns:

	Yes, Should Be Asked To Meet %	No, Should Not Be Asked %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	84	11	5
Sex			
Men	83	12	5
Women	85	10	5
Race			
White	84	12	4
Nonwhite	89	6	5
Age			
18 to 29 years	86	12	2
30 to 49 years	85	13	2
50 & over	83	9	8
Community Size			
1 million & over	85	10	5
500,000 - 999,999	86	9	5
50,000 - 499,999	85	12	3
2,500 - 49,999	85	11	4
Under 2,500	83	12	5
Education			
Grade school	84	8	8
High school	85	10	5
College	84	13	3
Region			
East	88	9	3
Midwest	86	10	4
South	83	12	5
West	80	14	6
Region/Race			
Northern white	84	12	4
Southern white	83	12	5
Northern black	95	1	4
Southern black	83	10	7

Importance of Schools

There is universal agreement that schools are extremely important to one's future success; in fact, all groups in the population — the well educated and the poorly educated — hold this view. More significant, perhaps, is that the public has greater faith in the schools today than in 1973.

The question asked in 1973 and in the present survey:

How important are schools to one's future success — extremely important, fairly important, not too important?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Extremely important	82	80	85	84
Fairly important	15	16	13	15
Not too important	2	2	2	—
No opinion	1	2	*	1

*Less than 1%.

Here are the results for 1980 and for 1973, when this same question was put to the public. In 1973 slightly fewer respondents replied that schools were extremely important. Here is the comparison:

	National Totals 1973 %	National Totals 1980 %
Schools are extremely important to success	76	82
Fairly important	19	15
Not too important	4	2
No opinion	1	1

Further breakdowns for 1980 follow:

	Importance of Schools for Success			
	Extremely Important %	Fairly Important %	Not Too Important %	No Opinion %
NATIONAL TOTALS	82	15	2	1
Sex				
Men	79	17	2	2
Women	84	14	1	1
Race				
White	81	15	2	2
Nonwhite	82	16	1	1
Age				
18 to 29 years	77	19	4	*
30 to 49 years	87	13	*	*
50 & over	80	15	1	4
Community Size				
1 million & over	82	15	2	1
500,000 - 999,999	85	11	1	3
50,000 - 499,999	81	16	2	1
2,500 - 49,999	80	15	3	2
Under 2,500	80	17	1	2
Education				
Grade school	77	17	2	4
High school	84	13	2	1
College	80	18	1	1
Region				
East	86	11	2	1
Midwest	80	17	2	1
South	84	15	—	1
West	75	19	4	2

*Less than 1%.

Teaching as a Career

In two earlier surveys in this annual series, respondents were asked whether they would like to have a child of theirs take up teaching in the public schools as a career.

When the same question was repeated this year, in the spring of 1980, a significant change in the public's attitude was found.

When the question was first asked in 1969, 75% of all respondents said they would like to have a child of theirs take up teaching. This figure dropped to 67% in the 1972 survey and has fallen to 48% in the present survey.

Here is the question:

Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching in the public schools as a career?

	1969 %	1972 %	1980 %
Yes	75	67	48
No	15	22	40
Don't know	10	11	12

Almost everyone will have his or her own reasons as to why a teaching career is less attractive today than it was years ago. But whatever the reasons, the education profession would seem to have a public relations problem on its hands.

Here are the 1980 results by children in school:

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes	48	46	56	43
No	40	41	35	51
Don't know	12	13	9	6

During the eight-year span between this survey and the last time the above question was asked, the attractiveness of education as a career has declined. First, there has been a well-known surplus of teachers at many levels and in several subject-matter areas and geographic regions. Young people who would like to teach weren't sure they could find a job after spending at least four years in preparation. Second, teacher salaries have not kept up with inflation; in fact, they have declined more than salaries in most other callings. Finally, there have evidently been real changes in school-age children. They are not as well motivated to learn nowadays. Certainly achievement in the adolescent years has declined. Violence, vandalism, and drug use have been heavily publicized. The public is aware of a phenomenon unheard of in an earlier generation: teacher burnout. No wonder parents are slow to urge their children to enter such a profession.

Further breakdowns:

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	48	40	12
Sex			
Men	48	39	13
Women	49	41	10
Race			
White	47	41	12
Nonwhite	53	34	13
Age			
18 to 29 years	43	47	10
30 to 49 years	51	37	12
50 & over	50	38	12
Community Size			
1 million & over	51	38	11
500,000 - 999,999	41	50	9
50,000 - 499,999	50	39	11
2,500 - 49,999	48	38	14
Under 2,500	48	40	12
Education			
Grade school	54	33	13
High school	49	40	11
College	45	44	11
Region			
East	45	43	12
Midwest	52	38	10
South	47	42	11
West	49	36	15

Nongraded Schools

The nongraded school concept continues to win wide approval from the public, even though the approval percentage is down slightly from an earlier survey when the same question was asked.

The following question was asked both in 1972 and in the current survey:

Should a student be able to progress through the school system at his own speed and without regard to the usual grade levels? This would mean that he might study seventh-grade math but only fifth-grade English. Would you favor or oppose such a plan in the local schools?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Favor	62	63	60	60
Oppose	30	28	35	37
No opinion	8	9	5	3

Here is the comparison of 1972 results with those of 1980:

	National Totals 1972 %	National Totals 1980 %
Favor	71	62
Oppose	22	30
No opinion	7	8

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
Education			
Grade school	81	11	8
High school	84	12	4
College	71	24	5
Region			
East	79	18	3
Midwest	79	16	5
South	82	14	4
West	78	15	7

Moral Instruction

In the 1975 survey in this series a question dealt with the need for instruction in morals and moral behavior. The vote at that time was overwhelmingly in favor: 79% in favor, 15% opposed, 6% no opinion.

Interestingly, in the present survey almost identical results were found: 79% in favor, 16% opposed, and 5% with no opinion.

In the early years of public school education, the teaching of morals was regarded as an integral part of the educational program. Anyone who examines the McGuffey Readers, first published in 1836, will discover that the teaching of morals was as important as the teaching of reading. And as the *Columbia Encyclopedia* observes, "Their influence in shaping the American mind of the mid-19th century can scarcely be exaggerated."

No one has yet found a good modern equivalent of these readers as a way to instruct students in morals and moral behavior, but, as the survey findings indicate, the public is eagerly hoping that a way to achieve this type of instruction will be found. It is significant that parents of children now attending school are the group that favors this kind of instruction most, although all major groups in the population strongly favor the idea.

Here is the question asked both in 1975 and in the present survey:

Would you favor or oppose instruction in the schools that would deal with morals and moral behavior?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Favor	79	78	84	83
Oppose	16	17	12	12
Don't know	5	5	4	5

Further breakdowns follow:

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	79	16	5
Sex			
Men	77	18	5
Women	81	14	5
Race			
White	79	16	5
Nonwhite	83	12	5
Age			
18 to 29 years	73	24	3
30 to 49 years	81	14	5
50 & over	83	10	7
Community Size			
1 million & over	77	18	5
500,000 - 999,999	78	19	3
50,000 - 499,999	79	16	5
2,500 - 49,999	78	15	7
Under 2,500	84	13	3

Cost of Education

The idea has been advanced that if parents and their school-age children knew how much money is spent to provide an education for them, absenteeism would decline. In short, if being absent from school could be correlated with dollars, then the temptation to stay away from classes and from school would be reduced.

The costs can be estimated in this way: The average school year consists of 184 days, and the average cost for each child per school year is approximately \$1,800 to \$2,000, or about \$10 per day. Since there are usually five class periods per day, then the cost per class per student is about \$2.

One of the first questions to be asked is how these amounts — \$10 per school day, \$2 per class — strike the average citizen. Do the figures seem high, low, or about what is expected?

Here is the question put to respondents in this survey:

It costs taxpayers about \$2 an hour for each student for each class he or she attends — or about \$10 for each school day. Are these figures higher, lower, or about the same as what you had thought?

	Cost Per School Day			
	Higher %	Lower %	About The Same %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	29	19	34	18
Sex				
Men	29	20	35	16
Women	28	18	33	21
Race				
White	28	19	35	18
Nonwhite	33	22	26	19
Age				
18 to 29 years	35	17	35	13
30 to 49 years	24	27	32	17
50 & over	28	14	34	24
Community Size				
1 million & over	26	20	32	22
500,000 - 999,999	25	28	28	19
50,000 - 499,999	30	20	33	17
2,500 - 49,999	24	21	33	22
Under 2,500	33	13	39	15
Education				
Grade school	34	10	33	23
High school	29	19	33	19
College	23	25	36	16
Region				
East	30	21	34	15
Midwest	29	18	32	21
South	30	17	35	18
West	23	24	33	20

The greatest differences are found between the best-educated group (those who have attended college) and the least well educated (those whose education ended with grade school). To the grade school group the figures were higher than expected: 34% to 10%; with the college educated the costs cited were slightly lower than expected: 23% to 25%.

Since lower-income respondents were much more inclined to underestimate the costs, and since the children of the poorer families of the nation are most likely to drop out of school or be absent from classes, this argument about cost and wasted money might be useful to students and their parents in promoting regular school attendance. The student who has been absent 10 days has, in effect, lost \$100.

Further breakdowns:

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Cost Per School Day				
Higher	29	29	29	16
Lower	19	17	23	29
About the same	34	34	33	39
Don't know	18	20	15	16

Early Graduation

Every major group in the population believes that, if high school students can meet academic requirements in three years instead of four, they should be permitted to graduate early. The least enthusiastic about this proposal are parents of children now attending school. On the other hand, those most in favor are recent graduates — persons 18 to 29 years of age.

When this question was first asked in 1977, similar results were found.

It can be argued that in an era of increasing specialization, with students requiring more and more years of college and post-college training, an earlier start on college work would permit a student to engage in his or her chosen calling that much earlier. But many parents are reluctant to see their children go off to college at the age of 17 or earlier.

The question:

If high school students can meet academic requirements in three years instead of four, should they, or should they not, be permitted to graduate early?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes, should	77	79	73	70
No, should not	19	16	24	26
Don't know	4	5	3	4

Further breakdowns:

	Yes, Should %	No, Should Not %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	77	19	4
Sex			
Men	78	18	4
Women	77	19	4
Race			
White	77	19	4
Nonwhite	80	16	4

	Yes, Should %	No, Should Not %	Don't Know %
Age			
18 to 29 years	84	15	1
30 to 49 years	76	21	3
50 & over	72	20	8
Community Size			
1 million & over	82	14	4
500,000 - 999,999	77	18	5
50,000 - 499,999	75	20	5
2,500 - 49,999	79	18	3
Under 2,500	76	21	3
Education			
Grade school	72	19	9
High school	75	22	3
College	84	13	3
Region			
East	76	21	3
Midwest	78	19	3
South	77	19	4
West	79	14	7

Should Public School Teachers Be Permitted to Strike?

A conservative trend in most areas of American life evidenced by survey findings parallels increasing public opposition to strikes by public school teachers. In 1975, when this question was last put to the public in this series, a slight majority opposed strikes. The vote then was 48% opposed to strikes and 45% in favor, with 7% having no opinion. When the same question was asked in the present survey, 52% opposed strikes, 40% favored them, and 8% had no opinion.

The question:

Should public school teachers be permitted to strike or not?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes	40	39	43	41
No	52	53	49	51
Don't know	8	8	8	8

The greatest changes were found among college-educated respondents, a group that favored strikes five years ago by a 52% to 44% margin and now opposes strikes by nearly the same margin, 51% to 43%.

In the Eastern states opinion was equally divided in 1975. A total of 46% favored strikes; 46% opposed them. Today the comparable figures are 34% in favor, 58% opposed.

Interestingly, parents of children attending the public schools have less objection to strikes than do those who have no children of school age.

Further breakdowns follow:

	Permit Teachers to Strike?		
	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	40	52	8
Sex			
Men	40	54	6
Women	39	51	10
Race			
White	38	54	8
Nonwhite	53	39	8
Age			
18 to 29 years	57	40	3
30 to 49 years	42	49	9
50 & over	25	64	11

	Permit Teachers to Strike?		
	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
Community size			
1 million & over	39	49	12
500,000 - 999,999	43	51	6
50,000 - 499,999	46	48	6
2,500 - 49,999	38	53	9
Under 2,500	35	58	7
Education			
Grade school	31	57	12
High school	41	51	8
College	43	51	6
Region			
East	34	58	8
Midwest	44	50	6
South	40	51	9
West	43	48	9

	Yes, They Should Add Personnel %	No, They Should Not %	Don't Know %
Community Size			
1 million & over	69	26	5
500,000 - 999,999	63	32	5
50,000 - 499,999	67	27	6
2,500 - 49,999	57	37	6
Under 2,500	63	32	5
Central city	71	23	6
Education			
Grade school	74	11	12
High school	64	3	5
College	59	3	4
Region			
East	73	23	4
Midwest	57	36	7
South	67	27	6
West	58	37	5

Helping Students Get Jobs

One of the most perplexing problems that modern industrial societies face is how best to deal with student transition from school to job. The very high unemployment rate in the U.S. among high school graduates and dropouts has yet to be solved. Some European nations have found that a combination of postsecondary schooling and job apprenticeship helps ease the transition from school to job. In the U.S. — judging from the high unemployment rates of youth — we have yet to find a solution. This fact accounts, perhaps, for the highly favorable vote for the proposal to add personnel to the school staff to help students and recent graduates get jobs.

Every group in the population favors this idea, and by very substantial amounts. Understandably, nonwhites, who have the highest youth unemployment rates in the population, are most in favor.

The question:

In your opinion, should or should not the public schools add personnel to help students and recent graduates get jobs?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes, they should add personnel	64	65	64	53
No, they should not	30	29	32	45
Don't know	6	6	4	2

Further breakdowns:

	Yes, They Should Add Personnel %	No, They Should Not %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	64	30	6
Sex			
Men	63	31	6
Women	66	29	5
Race			
White	61	34	5
Nonwhite	86	8	6
Age			
18 to 29 years	73	25	2
30 to 49 years	62	33	5
50 & over	59	32	9

Priorities for the New Federal Department of Education

To gain some insight into the priorities, as the American public perceives them, for the newly established Department of Education in the federal government, respondents in the present survey were asked what this new department should give special attention to during the next few years. They were handed a list of 13 areas and asked to choose five of the 13 that they thought merited the most attention.

The list is by no means all-inclusive, and the areas listed are not necessarily the ones regarded as most important by either Congress or by top officials of the new Department of Education. The results, however, provide an indication of the way the public is thinking regarding educational priorities.

Here is the question asked:

As you may know, a new federal Department of Education has been established with Cabinet status. We would like to know what you think this new department should give special attention to in the next few years. Will you choose five of the areas listed on this card which you think are most important.

The priorities that follow are arranged in descending order of mention nationwide:

Areas that the public hopes the new Department of Education will give special attention to in the next few years:	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
1. Basic education (reading, writing, arithmetic)	69	68	72	71
2. Vocational training (training students for jobs)	56	55	57	53
3. Improving teacher training and education	46	44	50	51
4. Helping students choose careers	46	46	44	44
5. Parent training to help parents become more fully involved in their children's education	45	48	37	48
6. Helping more students obtain a college education	35	34	38	34

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
7. Developing individual educational plans for every child	33	31	38	35
8. Providing more opportunities for gifted students	25	25	26	23
9. Preschool education	24	26	21	19
10. Lifelong learning (continuing education through adult life)	23	22	21	33
11. Better educational use of television	20	20	21	19
12. International education, including foreign language study	19	19	20	20
13. Improving opportunities for women and minorities	18	18	17	14

(Figures add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.)

One-Year Internship for Teachers

A number of persons interviewed in this 12-year series of surveys complain about the difficulty of getting "good" teachers, enough to place this problem among the top 10 "most important problems facing the local schools." This may explain, in part, why the public favors the idea of an internship of one year at half pay for those who wish to enter the teaching profession. On the other hand, an internship at half pay may discourage many young persons from entering this profession, which is already losing some of its appeal.

The question:

Teachers now receive certificates to teach upon completion of their college coursework. Some people believe that teachers should be required to spend one year as interns in the schools at half pay before they are given a certificate to teach. Do you think this is a good idea or a poor idea?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Good idea	56	56	55	56
Poor idea	36	35	37	42
Don't know	8	9	8	2

Analysis of the vote by groups indicates that the most recent graduates — those 18 to 29 years of age — are most in favor of the internship proposal. Those who are over 50 are most opposed.

Further breakdowns:

	Internship for Teachers		
	Good Idea %	Poor Idea %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	56	36	8
Sex			
Men	54	38	8
Women	58	33	9
Race			
White	56	36	8
Nonwhite	55	34	11

Internship for Teachers

	Good Idea %	Poor Idea %	Don't Know %
Age			
18 to 29 years	62	32	6
30 to 49 years	59	35	6
50 & over	49	39	12
Community Size			
1 million & over	64	28	8
500,000 - 999,999	57	37	6
50,000 - 499,999	54	36	10
2,500 - 49,999	47	43	10
Under 2,500	56	36	8
Education			
Grade school	48	35	17
High school	59	34	7
College	54	40	6
Region			
East	60	33	7
Midwest	56	36	8
South	50	41	9
West	59	30	11

Behavior Problems and Who Should Deal with Them

Of the more serious behavior problems with which the public schools must deal, only two of seven, in the opinion of those interviewed in the survey, should be dealt with by the courts rather than by parents or by the school. The two are "vandalism of school property" and "bringing weapons to school." "Truancy" should be dealt with chiefly by parents, and the school should deal primarily with "fighting in school," "using alcohol or drugs on school property," "striking a teacher," and "stealing money or clothing from other students."

Here is the question:

Here are some student behavior problems which may occur in school. In your opinion, who should deal with each kind of problem — should it be the parents, the school, or the courts?

	National Totals			
Who Should Deal with:	Parents %	School %	Courts %	Don't Know %
Truancy (skipping school)	72	45	9	2
Vandalism of school property	44	39	50	2
Bringing weapons to school	41	35	59	3
Fighting in school	42	75	10	3
Using alcohol or drugs on school property	50	57	35	2
Striking a teacher	43	56	35	3
Stealing money or clothing from other students	48	58	30	3

*Multiple answers permitted.

The original data show that a substantial portion of the public believes most of these problems should be dealt with by a combination of school and parents, and in some instances by the courts also.

Analysis of the findings by groups reveals no important differences between those who have children now attending public school and those who have no children of school age. Those who have children now attending independent schools are also in agreement as to where the prime responsibility rests.

Breakdowns for those with no children in school:

Who Should Deal with:	Parents %	School %	Courts %	Don't Know %
Truancy (skipping school)	71	45	10	3
Vandalism of school property	42	39	51	3
Bringing weapons to school	38	33	62	3
Fighting in school	39	74	10	4
Using alcohol or drugs on school property	47	57	36	3
Striking a teacher	41	55	36	4
Stealing money or clothing from other students	45	57	31	4

Breakdowns for those with children in public school:

Who Should Deal with:	Parents %	School %	Courts %	Don't Know %
Truancy (skipping school)	76	42	8	1
Vandalism of school property	47	39	46	1
Bringing weapons to school	48	39	51	2
Fighting in school	49	77	9	1
Using alcohol or drugs on school property	57	58	35	1
Striking a teacher	49	57	31	2
Stealing money or clothing from other students	55	59	27	1

Breakdowns for those with children in parochial school:

Who Should Deal with:	Parents %	School %	Courts %	Don't Know %
Truancy (skipping school)	64	58	5	—
Vandalism of school property	45	47	53	—
Bringing weapons to school	34	39	58	3
Fighting in school	46	71	12	1
Using alcohol or drugs on school property	58	62	29	2
Striking a teacher	44	58	41	1
Stealing money or clothing from other students	44	57	41	1

Requiring Nonunion Members To Pay Union Dues

The public is fairly evenly divided on the question of whether teachers — in districts where there are teacher unions — should be required to pay union dues even though they do not belong to the union. A slight plurality is found on the side of requiring them to pay dues. The public's ambivalence on unions has been evidenced in earlier surveys indicating that, while our respondents favor unions for teachers, they are opposed to strikes.

The question:

In schools where there are teacher unions, should those teachers who do not belong to the union be required to pay union dues, since they share the benefits of union bargaining?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes, should be required to pay	47	47	49	51
No, should not	44	44	43	47
Don't know	9	9	8	2

Differences are found on this issue by sections of the nation. Residents of the South oppose requiring teachers to pay union dues when they do not belong by a vote of 54% opposed to 37% in favor. Sentiment is evenly divided in the small cities and rural communities. The college educated, who are found largely in the upper-income levels, vote against this requirement by 58% to 35%.

Further breakdowns:

	Yes, Should Be Required To Pay %	No, Should Not %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	47	44	9
Sex			
Men	44	47	9
Women	50	41	9
Race			
White	47	45	8
Nonwhite	52	37	11
Age			
18 to 29 years	56	40	4
30 to 49 years	44	46	10
50 & over	44	44	12
Community Size			
1 million & over	47	43	10
500,000 - 999,999	53	38	9
50,000 - 499,999	49	42	9
2,500 - 49,999	44	45	11
Under 2,500	46	47	7
Education			
Grade school	45	39	16
High school	55	37	8
College	35	58	7
Region			
East	54	39	7
Midwest	54	37	9
South	37	54	9
West	46	43	11



"We've taught him very little. We figured you would like to train him in your own way."

Preparing for One-Parent Families

The American public appears to be ready to deal with a problem that is certain to have an important effect on schooling. Children who spend a substantial amount of time with a lone parent will undoubtedly have a different home environment, different training, and special needs.

To cope with this situation, three proposals were presented to those persons included in the survey; all three were approved by overwhelming majorities.

The question:

The number of one-parent families in the U.S. is growing each year due to the high divorce rate, and it is predicted that nearly half of the children born in 1980 will live, for a considerable period of time, with only one parent. Because of this, some people believe that the schools must find new ways to deal with the children from these broken homes. Of course, this will cost more money. Now, here are three proposals. For each one tell me whether you think it would be a good idea or a poor idea for the schools here.

Proposal 1

Make school personnel available for evening counseling with single parents who are working if their children are having trouble at school.

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Good idea	86	86	85	84
Poor idea	10	9	12	15
Don't know	4	5	3	1

Proposal 2

Give teachers training to help them deal with special problems of children from one-parent families.

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Good idea	83	84	83	81
Poor idea	12	11	13	16
Don't know	5	5	4	3

Proposal 3

Provide activities so children can spend more time at school rather than going to an empty house.

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Good idea	76	79	70	72
Poor idea	18	15	26	25
Don't know	6	6	4	3

The Bilingual Problem

Bilingual education continues to be a controversial program. Should students be taught in the language of

their parents? Should they be able to learn some of their subjects in their native language while they are learning English?

A third alternative is to require students to learn English in special classes before they are enrolled in the public schools. This alternative appeals to more than eight out of every 10 persons included in the present survey. And it receives overwhelming approval by all major groups in the population.

Here is the question:

Many families who come from other countries have children who cannot speak English. Should or should not these children be required to learn English in special classes before they are enrolled in the public schools?

	National Totals %	No Children In Schools %	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Yes, they should	82	82	83	80
No, they should not	13	13	13	18
Don't know	5	5	4	2

Further breakdowns:

	Yes, They Should %	No, They Should Not %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	82	13	5
Sex			
Men	83	13	4
Women	81	14	5
Race			
White	82	14	4
Nonwhite	80	9	11
Age			
18 to 29 years	89	10	1
30 to 49 years	81	15	4
50 & over	77	16	7
Community Size			
1 million & over	83	14	3
500,000 - 999,999	91	6	3
50,000 - 499,999	83	12	5
2,500 - 49,999	79	16	5
Under 2,500	79	15	6
Education			
Grade school	74	17	9
High school	84	12	4
College	82	15	3
Region			
East	82	15	3
Midwest	86	10	4
South	80	14	6
West	79	16	5

Learning About Other Nations

As communication and travel make the world smaller, and as the threat of a world-devastating war continues, should students spend more time learning about other nations of the world than they presently do? Many educators believe that global education is the trend of the future and that schools should begin to take account of this.

Parents of children now attending either public school or parochial school were asked if they thought students should spend more time studying about other people and the way they live. Those with children in the public schools were almost evenly divided: 45% said they should spend more time on global education; 46% said they spend enough time now. The vote of parents

with children now attending independent schools was also evenly divided.

The question:

Should students spend more time than they now do learning about other nations of the world and the way people live there, or do you think they spend enough time now?

Asked of Parents Only

	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Should spend more time	45	46
Spend enough time now	46	47
Don't know	9	7

Basic Education in Local Schools

Schools throughout the nation are giving more attention to basic education. But it may take time to convince parents and the general public that enough attention is being given to this program in their own schools. To gain some insight into how parents regard this movement, this question was asked of parents with children in school:

Is it your impression that the local public school system gives enough attention, or not enough attention, to reading, writing, and arithmetic?

Asked of Parents Only

	Public School Parents %	Parochial School Parents %
Enough attention	34	17
Not enough attention	61	72
Don't know	5	11

Want Reprints? A 10-Year Compilation?

Reprints of this 12th annual Gallup survey of public attitudes toward the public schools may be ordered from Phi Delta Kappa. The minimum order is 25 copies for \$6. Additional copies are 15 cents each. This price includes postage for parcel post delivery. Where possible, a check or money order should accompany orders.

If faster delivery is desired, do not include a remittance with your order. You will be billed at the above rates plus any additional cost involved in the method of delivery.

Note also that copies of the first 10 Gallup surveys are now available in book form. The volume features an introductory analysis by George Gallup.

The Gallup Polls of Attitudes Toward Education, 1969-1978 may be ordered for \$5.50 each or \$4.50 each in quantities of five or more.

Orders for reprints or the book should be addressed to Phi Delta Kappa, Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. Ph. 812/339-1156.

Parents of children attending either public or parochial school say not enough attention is being given to the basics in the local public schools. It is not surprising to find that parents with children attending parochial schools are even more critical of the public school curriculum than those with children attending public schools.

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Analysis of Respondents

Adults	%	Political affiliation (cont.)	%
No children in schools	68	Independent	30
Public school parents	28*	Other	3
Parochial school parents	6*		
		Income	%
		\$20,000 and over	36
		\$15,000 to \$19,999	18
		\$10,000 to \$14,999	19
		\$ 7,000 to \$ 9,999	9
		\$ 5,000 to \$ 6,999	7
		\$ 3,000 to \$ 4,999	6
		Under \$3,000	4
		Undesignated	1
Sex	%	Region	%
Men	48	East	27
Women	52	Midwest	27
		South	28
		West	18
Race	%	Community size	%
White	86	1 million and over	20
Nonwhite	14	500,000 to 999,999	11
		50,000 to 499,999	27
		2,500 to 49,999	15
		Under 2,500	27
Age	%	Occupation	%
18 to 24 years	18	Business & professional	27
25 to 29 years	12	Clerical & sales	7
30 to 49 years	33	Farm	3
50 & over	37	Skilled labor	18
Undesignated	*	Unskilled labor	22
		Non-labor force	21
		Undesignated	2
		Political affiliation	%
		Republican	22
		Democrat	45

*Total exceeds 32% because some parents have children attending more than one kind of school.

*Less than 1%.

*Less than 1%.

THE DESIGN OF THE SAMPLE

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, age 18 and older, living in the U. S., except for those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated probability sample, down to the block level in the case of urban areas and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Approximately 300 sampling locations are used in each survey. Interpenetrating samples can be provided for any given study when appropriate.

The sample design included stratification by these four size-of-community strata, using 1970 census data: 1) cities of population 1,000,000 and over; 2) 250,000 to 999,999; 3) 50,000 to 249,999; 4) all other population. Each of these strata was further stratified into seven geographic regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, East Central, West Central, South, Mountain, and Pacific. Within each city-size/regional stratum, the population was arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal-sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities were selected in each zone, with probability of selection of each locality proportional to its population size in the 1970 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Within localities so selected for which the requisite population data are reported, subdivisions were drawn with the probability of selection proportional to size of population. In all other localities, small definable geographic areas were selected with equal probability.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home, which means on weekends, or, if on weekdays, after 4 p.m. for women and after 6 p.m. for men.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a "times-at-home" weighting procedure rather than by "call-backs." This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The prestratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. Also, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment by men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey) and by age.

SAMPLING TOLERANCES

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, i.e., the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of sampling error depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The computed allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period could be expected to vary 95% of the time, assuming the same sampling procedure, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

The first table shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage:

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage

	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level)*						
	Sample Size						
	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200	100
Percentages near 10	2	2	3	3	4	5	7
Percentages near 20	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Percentages near 30	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Percentages near 40	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Percentages near 50	3	4	4	5	5	8	11
Percentages near 60	3	4	4	5	6	8	11
Percentages near 70	3	4	4	4	6	8	10
Percentages near 80	2	3	4	4	5	7	9
Percentages near 90	2	2	3	3	4	5	7

*The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

The table would be used in the following manner: Let us say a reported percentage is 33 for a group that includes 1,500 respondents. We go to the row for "percentages near 30" and across to the column headed "1,500." The number at this point is 3, which means that the 33% obtained in the sample is subject to a sampling error of plus or minus three points. Another way of saying it is that very probably (95 chances out of 100) the average of repeated samplings would be somewhere between 30 and 36, with the most likely figure the 33 obtained.

In comparing survey results in two samples such as, for example, men and women, the question arises as to how large a difference between them must be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In the tables below, the number of points that must be allowed for in such comparisons is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for percentages near 20 or 80; the other for percentages near 50. For percentages in between, the error to be allowed for is between those shown in the two tables:

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error
Of the Difference

TABLE A	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level) Percentages near 20 or near 80			
	750	600	400	200
Size of Sample				
750	5			
600	5	6		
400	6	6	7	
200	8	8	8	10

TABLE B	Percentages near 50			
	750	600	400	200
Size of Sample				
750	6			
600	7	7		
400	7	8	8	
200	10	10	10	12

Here is an example of how the tables would be used: Let us say that 50% of men respond a certain way and 40% of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10-point difference reflects a real difference between men and women on the question? The sample contains approximately 750 men and 750 women.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and, since the two samples are about 750 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "750," which is also the row designated "750." We find the number 6 here. This means that the allowance for error should be six points and that, in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between four and 16 points higher than the percentage among women, we should be wrong only about 5% of the time. In other words, we can conclude with considerable confidence that a difference exists in the direction observed and that it amounts to at least four percentage points.

If, in another case, men's responses amount to 22%, say, and women's 24%, we consult Table A, because these percentages are near 20. We look in the column headed "750" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is inconclusive.

PACE Materials Now Available

George Gallup calls them "unique; the first time anyone has ever put together in one package complete instructions for the nonspecialist on how to conduct scientific polls of attitudes and opinion in education."

These are the PACE (for Polling Attitudes of the Community on Education) materials, now available in final form to school districts, regional consortiums, and state agencies or groups interested in measuring opinion on vital education questions.

Wilmer Bugher, associate executive secretary for administration of Phi Delta Kappa, and Willard Duckett, his assistant, worked for more than a year to assemble the PACE kit. The Gallup Organization gave advice and help at every stage of development.

Here are chapter headings in the manual that constitutes the heart of the kit: The Questionnaire, Questions Classified According to Topics, Sampling, Interviewing, and Analyzing the Data. There are seven appendices.

Persons interested in using PACE should write or call Bugher or Duckett at Phi Delta Kappa, Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402, phone 812/339-1156. Price of the 291-page basic kit is \$39.50. Additional items are available. Bugher and Duckett will consult with PACE users when their schedules permit.

Comparing Lay and Professional Opinion on Gallup Poll Questions

by Stanley M. Elam and Pauline B. Gough

A random sample of PDK members responded to the Gallup poll questions. Some striking differences (and many points of agreement) resulted.

There are some striking differences between professional and lay opinion on questions asked in the 12th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools. But there is equally striking agreement on other vital questions. Agreement on questions in the 1980 poll seems more common than disagreement.

In May of this year, just after the annual attitudes poll reported in this *Kappan* had been completed by the Gallup Organization, the same questions were mailed to a random sample of 400 Phi Delta Kappa members. By June 20 some 202 replies had been received (those coming in later were not tabulated, but appear to be essentially similar). Space was unavailable in this issue for a detailed report.* However, most of the results are summarized below and relevant comparisons are made between lay and professional opinion.

Lay respondents, once again, believe that "lack of discipline" is the biggest problem in their local schools. Some 26% of them mentioned it. Next in frequency (14%) was "the use of dope/drugs." Then came "lack of proper financial support" (10%); concern about "standards/quality: basic education and the three Rs" (7%); "difficulty of getting good teachers" (6%); "parents' lack of support" (6%); and "busing" (6%).

Here are comparable responses from Kappans — each of whom detected many more problems, incidentally, than did laymen: school financing, 62.2%; discipline, 33.2%; parental cooperation/support, 21.9%; student motivation, 19.9%; declining enrollment/school closings, 16.3%; drugs, 15.3%; public image/confidence, 10.7%; lack of community support, 10.2%; desegregation/busing, 9.2%; teacher salaries, 8.7%; teacher morale, 7.7%; and government controls/restrictions, 7.7%.

*We shall mail the full tabulations to persons requesting them. Send \$1 and a self-addressed #10 envelope to Pauline Gough, Assistant Editor, *Phi Delta Kappan*, Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402.

George Gallup has often remarked that the closer the public gets to its schools and the more it knows about them from first-hand experience, the more favorable are its attitudes. This principle seems to apply with particular force to professionals. Whereas only 35% of Gallup's respondents gave the local schools a grade of A or B, 61.4% of the PDK respondents did so. Another 29% gave a grade of C and 7% gave a grade of D. Only 1.5% gave failing grades; 1% did not answer.

Educators and the public also differ on the question of how the local public schools can be improved. The question, "Here are a number of things which may have a good effect on the education students receive in the public schools of this community. Will you choose four (from a list of 14 suggestions) which you think are particularly important." A comparison of the top responses:

	PDK Respondents %	Gallup Respondents %
Teachers, principals personally interested in progress of students	60.9	44
Well-educated teachers and principals	54.9	50
Good parent/teacher relationships	47.5	40
Emphasis on basics	45.0	49
Orderly but not rigid atmosphere	43.5	27

Rather unexpectedly, educators evince somewhat less faith that the schools are important to one's future success than do the Gallup respondents. Here are comparisons on this question: "How important are schools to one's future success?"

	PDK %	Gallup %
Extremely important	74.8	82
Fairly important	23.3	15
Not too important	1.9	2
No opinion/don't know	—	1

Both educators and the public regard teaching as a career for their children with some favor (although the public is less en-

thusiastic than in 1972, when on a similar question 67% of the respondents said yes). On the question, "Would you like a child of yours to take up teaching in the public schools as a career?" responses were:

	PDK %	Gallup %
Yes	49.5	48
No	38.6	40
Don't know/no answer	11.9	12

Educators and the public both overwhelmingly favor student progress through school at the student's own speed without regard to the usual grade levels: Gallup, 62% favor, 30% oppose, 8% no opinion; PDK, 71.8% favor, 24.8% oppose, 3% no opinion or no answer. One respondent said, "Only for exceptional kids."

PDK and Gallup respondents both believe in moral education in the school (PDK 78% yes, Gallup 79% yes). However, this is a question on which educators dislike being forced to answer yes or no. Those who did not answer or gave qualified answers (9%) often said, in effect, "It depends on the definition of moral education."

Predictably, educators were more conversant with school costs than laymen. Nearly half of them knew that schooling costs about \$2 an hour or \$10 a day per student, while only 34% of the public was aware of this fact.

There was a considerable difference of opinion between laymen and professionals on the question of teacher strikes and the agency shop, as follows:

Should public school teachers be permitted to strike?	PDK %	Gallup %
Yes	51	40
No	43	52
Don't know/no answer, etc.	6	8

Should nonunion teachers be required to pay unions in schools where they share in the benefits of bargaining conducted by the union?

“... [T]eachers at all levels . . . favor legalizing strikes 61% to 33%. . . , whereas administrators oppose legalizing them 51% to 43%. . . .”

	PDK %	Gallup %
Yes	33	47
No	64	44
Don't know/no answer	3	9

The high proportion of administrators in the PDK sample (42.6%) no doubt affected percentages here. Because the poll was mailed after most teachers went on vacation, administrators were represented among respondents somewhat more heavily than they are represented in the organization as a whole. A further breakdown of the PDK responses showed that teachers at all levels (25% of the sample) favor legalizing strikes 61% to 33% (6% don't know), whereas administrators oppose legalizing them 51% to 43% (6% don't know or did not answer).

Only 29% of the professionals approved adding school personnel to help students and recent graduates get jobs, whereas 64% of the public favors this idea. Does this mean that the professionals are more cost conscious? The data don't tell us.

The public wants the new Department of Education to emphasize basic education and vocational training, whereas the professionals would emphasize improving teacher training and education; an amazing 71.5% of the PDK respondents checked this function. Educators also tend to believe that the department should

promote training to help parents become more fully involved in their children's education (62.5%) and that it should give attention to lifelong education (57%). Basic education received a low 19% rating in the PDK poll as a Department of Education priority. Vocational education got support from 39.5% of the professionals as a departmental goal. Both lay and professional groups virtually ignored Secretary Shirley Hufstедler's avowed goal of furthering greater equality of opportunity through departmental effort.

Gallup's rather complicated question on whose responsibility it should be to deal with student behavior problems shows parallels in lay and professional opinion. Educators are generally willing to accept major responsibility in the areas identified, but they also want parents to share it and would deemphasize the role of the courts. The public seems more generally to want to fix responsibility in one institution. The public and the professionals agreed that the courts should have little part in dealing with truancy and fighting in school, but gave them a major role in handling vandalism, bringing weapons to school, using alcohol or drugs on school property, striking a teacher, and stealing from other students.

Gallup offered three proposals for dealing with the problems of single-parent families as they impinge on the school:

providing school counseling for single parents if their children are having trouble at school, providing after-school activities for latchkey kids, and training teachers to deal with problems of children from one-parent homes. A majority of both laymen and professionals think these are all good ideas. However, the professionals were by no means as enthusiastic as the laymen about providing after-school activities. (Perhaps if Gallup had mentioned overtime pay those attitudes would be different.)

Neither were educators as enthusiastic as Gallup respondents about special classes for non-English-speaking youngsters before they enroll in the public schools. PDK members favored the idea by a 66% to 25% margin, compared with an 82% to 17% margin for laymen. Many educators marked "don't know" or didn't answer.

But educators favor having students spend more time on learning about other nations and their cultures, 59% to 33% (8% don't know), whereas the public is undecided (46% for, 46% against, 8% don't know).

Finally, there is a huge discrepancy in opinion on the question of attention to the basics in school. The public believes (63% to 32%, only 5% undecided) that not enough attention is paid to basics (defined generally as the three Rs). The profession believes, 56.9% to 40.6% (2.5% don't know or didn't answer), that enough attention is being paid. This is perhaps the most glaring public/professional division revealed in the 1980 poll, and it is an important one.

There is also some division within the profession on this question. For example, public school administrators, by a 77% to 22% margin, say that enough attention is paid to basics; college, junior college, and vocational school administrators say: enough 45%, not enough 54%. In the total administrator sample, 69% said enough, 30% said not enough, and 1% didn't know. Among public school teachers 60% said enough, but 36% said not enough. Only 19% of college, junior college, and vocational teachers said enough; 73% said not enough and 8% didn't know or gave equivocal answers. In the total teacher sample 39% said enough and 55% said not enough. Six percent didn't know or gave equivocal answers.

Obviously, the dialogue will continue. The health of American public schools will improve if and when some of the gaps between professional and lay opinion are closed. □

more than one-fourth (28%) say no action was taken but should have been.

Standardized Testing — Almost half of the respondents (48%) say only norm-referenced standardized achievement tests are used in their school/school system; about one-sixth say criterion-referenced tests only; and about one-third (33%), both. Only 4% say neither type is used. There was no unanimity on which type is best.

Television Instruction — Almost three-fifths (60%) never use television in the classroom. Another 20% use it only once or twice a semester; another 8%, once or twice a month. Two percent use it every day; and 11%, once or twice a week. Elementary teachers use it more often than secondary teachers.

About half (49%) never assign TV programs to watch at home.

About 32% of teachers have neither color nor black-and-white television available for classroom use. Less than half (44%) have equipment for taping TV programs for class use, and half of those who do don't use it.

Censorship — Almost 9% had faced some attempts at censorship in their jobs over the last two years. About half of those attempts (41%) were successful. Where attempts at censorship were made, methods used in instruction (42%) were the most commonly reported target, although a specific course or area (31%) and textbooks used (19%) were also targets. The most common general area of attack was sex and pornography (24%), but religion and economic systems (11%), sex-role stereotyping (10%), and drugs, tobacco, and alcohol (9%) were also reported. The school administration is most often named as primarily responsible for censorship (47%). Individuals in the community (21%) are often cited, and the school board (7%) is occasionally mentioned.

Discrimination — Female respondents are much more likely than males to believe that discrimination against female employees exists in selected areas. Similarly, nonwhite respondents are much more likely than whites to believe racial/ethnic minority employees are discriminated against.

Miscellaneous — The respondents were given a list of practices some people associate with the back-to-basics movement. At least 70% favor each; however, the percent who say the practice is occurring in their school or system is always significantly less than the percent that favor each.

When a handicapped student is placed in a regular class for some or all of his or her instruction, 81% definitely believe the class size should be reduced. Reduction by five students for each handicapped student is the median response.

More than half (55%) think the federal Department of Education will have little or no impact on public school education. About 34% think it will have a positive impact; about 12% negative. Respondents give the highest priority for departmental action to "assure educational opportunity for all school-age children" and "promote equity in funding for all public school systems."

Mean class size, overall, is 24, with a median of 25. In schools with fewer than 3,000 students, the mean is 22. □

The PROBE Results:

Important Differences in Public and Professional Perceptions of the Schools

by Jerry Duea and Walter L. Bishop

A survey of nearly 1,300 superintendents reveals many disparities between public and professional views of the problems facing our schools. One example: Discipline is the perennial No. 1 problem in the eyes of the lay public — but these superintendents ranked it 13th in a list of 18 vital problems.

Do public school superintendents and the lay public agree in their perceptions of U.S. public schools? The answer is no, based on a PROBE* survey of 1,272 superintendents in October and November 1979. The survey was designed

to parallel the 1979 Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools.**

The PROBE survey solicited views on public education from a stratified random sample of superintendents in 2,004 U.S. public schools and from superintendents in the 200 most populous U.S. school districts. The random sample brought 1,154 responses (a 57.7% return), and the large-district sample yielded 133 responses (66.5%); 15 respondents represented both groups. Random sample data were analyzed and compared in subgroups based on five district enrollment categories and

on three school district types (inner city/urban, suburban, and rural). Random sample data were also compared with findings from the large-district sample and with findings from the 1979 Gallup poll.

Participants in the PROBE study were asked to "identify the five most important problems confronting your school district today," ranked in order of their significance. Seventeen common problems were listed, and two blanks were provided for other responses. Table 1 shows the results.

Both the random and large-district samples were in complete agreement on the top four problems confronting public schools: 1) inflation and financial support, 2) declining enrollment, 3) governmental restrictions, and 4) handicapped education requirements. The other 14 problems identified by superintendents varied somewhat in order of severity, but the intersample correlation (.931) was high. Ranking of problems varied a bit

JERRY DUEA (University of Northern Iowa Chapter) is director of research for PROBE, and WALTER L. BISHOP (Illinois State University Chapter) is director of the PROBE education division. State-specific data from the PROBE survey reported here are available at a nominal fee for those states that include 300 or more school districts. Complete reports on the findings of this survey are also available. All inquiries should be directed to Jerry Duea, Director of Research, PROBE, Price Laboratory School, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA 50613. PROBE is now conducting research on the perceptions of school principals, board members, PTA officers, school business officials, and college and university presidents. Findings will be released as they become available.

*PROBE is an acronym for Practical Research into Organizational Behavior and Effectiveness, an independent research organization located on the University of Northern Iowa campus, Cedar Falls. This study was financed in part by the College of Education and the Graduate College, University of Northern Iowa.

**See George H. Gallup, "The 11th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 1979, pp. 33-45.

more among comparison subgroups; correlations ranged from .768 to .970, but most were above .900. These statistics suggest that school district problems are not greatly influenced by enrollment or district type. The major problems appear to affect both large and small districts — whether rural, suburban, or urban — in a similar manner and with almost equal severity.

However, superintendent responses differed considerably from those of the lay public. In fact, a negative (but not statistically significant) correlation existed between PROBE findings and those of the Gallup poll. Discipline is a case in point. For the 10th time in 11 years, lack of discipline was the No. 1 problem identified in the Gallup poll, yet it ranked 13th among the 18 problems identified by both PROBE samples. Student drug use, ranked second in the Gallup poll, was ranked 14th by superintendents in the PROBE random sample and 17th by superintendents in the largest school districts.

Superintendents also differed from the lay public in the letter grades they assigned to the schools. Slightly over 60% of superintendents, compared with 26% of the Gallup respondents, gave their schools a grade of B. Grade-point averages on a four-point scale were: PROBE large-district sample, 3.08; PROBE random sample, 3.00; and Gallup poll, 2.20. The larger the school district enrollment, the higher the grades superintendents assigned to the schools. Suburban superintendents also gave their schools higher

grades than did their counterparts in rural or inner-city/urban districts.

More than three-fourths of the superintendents said that today's schools and their programs are superior to those of the past (77.2% in the random sample and 75.9% in the large-district sample). Only 41% of Gallup respondents shared this belief. Again, superintendents of suburban and larger school districts gave higher ratings to today's schools and their programs than did other PROBE comparison groups.

Table 2 compares PROBE and Gallup poll findings on the public school improvements seen as most needed. Improved teacher quality is the area of greatest agreement, ranking first among Gallup respondents and second among superintendents. However, superintendents gave precedence to improved financial support by about a 2-1 margin. There was very little agreement between the lay public and superintendents on the matter of discipline, which ranked second in the Gallup poll, 10th in the PROBE random sample, and 11th in the PROBE large-district sample as a needed improvement. Superintendents disagreed most among themselves on the need for upgrading school facilities. The random sample ranked this third, while large-district superintendents put it in ninth place.

Both the lay public and professionals favored state board examinations for teachers. Eighty-five percent of Gallup poll respondents favored such a requirement, and 9% opposed it. Superintendents in both the random and large-dis-

trict samples favored teacher examinations by narrower margins (42.9% and 57.9% respectively). Opposition came from 23.3% of large-district superintendents and from 37.8% of superintendents in the random sample. Generally, the higher a district's enrollment, the more likely it was that the superintendent favored such examinations. Only in districts with enrollments of 999 or fewer students were more superintendents opposed (43.6%) than in favor (34.6%). Overall, superintendents in rural districts were evenly divided, with 40.3% favoring and 39.8% opposing state board examinations. Respondents who were undecided on this issue ranged from 14% to 22.4% in the various comparison subgroups.

Consistent with the Gallup poll, PROBE respondents were given two options for the education of youngsters with mental or physical handicaps: placing them in special classes or integrating them with other students. Given these choices, special classes for children with mental handicaps were favored by from 58.1% to 66.8% of superintendents in the various comparison groups; 26.7% to 37.2% preferred to integrate such youngsters. An even larger majority (77%) of the lay public favored special classes, and only 13% favored integrated educational opportunities.

Conversely, about 75% of all subgroups in the PROBE survey favored placing youngsters with physical handicaps in regular classrooms. Gallup respondents agreed, but by a smaller margin (53% in favor versus 36% opposed).

Table 1. Major Problems Confronting the Public Schools

Problems	PROBE Survey Findings						1979 Gallup Poll	
	Random Sample (N = 1,154)			Large Districts (N = 133)			Rank	%*
	Rank	%*	Mean**	Rank	%*	Mean**		
Inflation and financial support	1	82.1	3.23	1	87.2	3.65	3	12
Declining enrollment	2	47.8	1.76	2	54.9	1.99	20	1
Governmental restrictions	3	57.5	1.72	3	46.6	1.29	14.5	2
Handicapped educ. requirements	4	43.4	1.25	4	44.4	1.27	----	—
Parents' lack of interest	5	43.2	1.13	6	29.3	0.88	10.5	3
Facility inadequacy	6	33.7	1.09	9	21.8	0.64	14.5	2
Securing good teachers	7	32.9	0.88	8	27.8	0.74	5	10
Pupils' lack of interest	8	31.5	0.84	10	21.1	0.44	8	4
Other***	9	15.9	0.44	7	24.8	0.76	----	—
Student absenteeism	10	14.6	0.37	12	15.8	0.37	8	4
Teachers' lack of interest	11	15.6	0.36	15	13.5	0.26	10.5	3
Student drinking/alcoholism	12	15.4	0.34	14	12.0	0.29	14.5	2
Lack of discipline	13	13.4	0.33	13	14.3	0.31	1	24
Student drug usage	14	12.7	0.27	17	12.8	0.23	2	13
Poor curriculum/low standards	15	8.8	0.23	16	7.5	0.24	4	11
Teacher absenteeism	16	9.4	0.22	11	18.0	0.40	----	—
Crime and vandalism	17	9.1	0.21	18	10.5	0.20	8	4
Racial integration/busing	18	2.7	0.07	5	27.8	0.91	6	9

*This column indicates the percentage of respondents who identified each problem as one of the top five problems confronting their districts.

**Mean scores were computed by awarding five points each time a problem was ranked first, four points for each second ranking, three points for third, two points for fourth, one point for fifth, and zero for each time a problem was ignored by a respondent. The mean score was derived by dividing the total points awarded each problem by the number of respondents in the sample.

***The problems most frequently mentioned under "other" were: negotiations and unionism (identified by 34 respondents), public relations problems (17), lack of local control (13), increasing enrollment (11), school board interference (11), and transportation (11).

“The chances are nil that basic problems can be solved without public confidence and support.”

More than half of the responding superintendents said that the effects of federal aid to education have been either “definitely positive” or “somewhat positive” (75.1% in the large-district sample and 56.2% in the random sample). Only 24% of the large-district superintendents felt that the effects were neutral or negative, compared to 42.9% of random sample respondents. Superintendents in districts with enrollments of 999 or fewer were least inclined to hold positive views toward the effects of federal aid; 22.3% of these said that federal aid “is more trouble than it is worth,” and 26.3% said that “its benefits and liabilities have balanced out.”

Large-district superintendents also differed with the random sample on the question of homework. About 60% of superintendents in the random sample felt that homework requirements were appropriate in their districts, but only 40.6% of large-district superintendents agreed. More than half of these large-district superintendents (51.1%) and slightly more than 30% of the random sample felt that more homework should be required. In no instance did more than 3.1% of any comparison subgroup indicate that less homework should be required.

Except for attitudes on federal aid and homework, subgroups of superintendents in the PROBE survey showed a high degree of similarity in their

views on U.S. public education. They differed from the lay public in the degree of their concern about such operational considerations as finance, governmental interference, and facilities. The lay public gave greater emphasis to what may be termed media sensations (lack of discipline, drug use, integration/busing, crime, and vandalism). However, the Gallup poll's lay opinions ranked financial problems third in importance, and both the lay public and superintendents expressed nearly equal concern about pupils' lack of interest and the need to secure good teachers.

Disparities aside, the findings of the PROBE and Gallup surveys suggest that:

- Across the U.S. and in nearly all types of districts, attention must be given to the development of legislation designed to promote more adequate financing for public schools.

- Efforts should be made to strip red tape and bothersome, ineffective regulations from federally funded programs and to make these resources available to smaller school systems on a more equitable basis. So long as application and reporting requirements demand specialized personnel, smaller districts are going to be at a distinct disadvantage in competing for federal funding.

- Because securing good teachers is an important problem in the eyes of both school administrators and the lay public, more resources probably should be allocated for improved teacher preparation at

both the preservice and inservice levels. Better salaries and benefit plans might also attract more talented people into the classroom and keep them there.

- If mainstreaming is truly the proper approach for children with mental handicaps, the vast majority of school administrators and the lay public remains to be convinced.

Because of their professional training and direct involvement, school officials are probably a more accurate source of information than the lay public about school problems and potential solutions. However, the lay public's views on school effectiveness provide an important balance for the somewhat biased opinions of professional educators. Public opinion may also serve as a guiding force in school district improvement efforts.

On the other hand, perhaps lay opinions about public education should not be taken at face value. We believe that communication and/or public relations problems are major contributors to the disparities that seem to exist between professional and lay opinions on public education. A concerted effort by public officials to improve public relations might narrow the apparent opinion gap. Unfortunately, public relations efforts often wait until financial and operational problems have been addressed. School systems that permit this to happen have the cart before the horse. The chances are nil that basic problems can be solved without public confidence and support. □

Table 2. Improvements Needed in the Public Schools

Improvements Needed	PROBE Samples						Gallup Poll
	Random (N = 1,154)			Large Districts (N = 133)			
	Rank	% *	Mean** Score	Rank	% *	Mean** Score	
Increase financial support	1	68.8	1.72	1	76.7	1.86	-
Improve the quality of teachers	2	42.1	0.85	2	45.1	0.98	1
Upgrade school facilities	3	30.6	0.59	9	15.8	0.21	-
Increase individual attention	4	30.6	0.56	6	21.1	0.34	4
Improve relations with parents	5	28.2	0.49	5	24.1	0.45	7
Raise academic standards	6	21.6	0.39	4	25.6	0.51	3
Improve management and direction	7	18.5	0.33	3	27.8	0.51	6
Update curriculum	8	18.6	0.30	12	9.0	0.17	-
Eliminate alcohol/drug usage	9	14.3	0.24	10	13.5	0.21	-
Increase/improve discipline	10	13.3	0.22	11	12.8	0.18	2
Reduce class size	11	9.4	0.16	7	19.5	0.31	-
Other***	12	7.1	0.14	8	9.8	0.23	-

*This column indicates the percentage of respondents who identified each area of improvement as one of the top three needed in their districts.

**Mean scores were computed by awarding three points each time a choice was ranked first, two points for each second ranking, one point for third ranking, and zero each time a choice was ignored. The mean score was derived by dividing the total points awarded each improvement by the number of respondents in the sample.

***The improvements most frequently mentioned under “other” were: improve local control (29), improve public relations (18), secure better board members (10), provide improved inservice training for staff (7), and reduce office routine and paperwork (6).

KAPPAN

DIAMOND JUBILEE 1906-1981

Let's face it: Colleges of pedagogy will in all probability never overhaul their programs if each college is to do it alone. There are too many hurdles, too much disparity among institutions, too much institutional jealousy, too much divisiveness and lethargy among faculties, too much fear, and too much ineptness in the leadership. It is likely, of course, that one or two institutions will blaze a new path. But will others follow? Well, maybe. We won't know until some college really does it. It is more probable, however, that only forces broader and more powerful than those of a single college can ever break through these barriers and restraints to bring about a new day in pedagogical education.

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The *Phi Delta Kappan* publishes articles concerned with educational research, service, and leadership; issues, trends, and policy are emphasized. Views expressed do not necessarily agree with positions taken by Phi Delta Kappa, the professional fraternity in education.

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agement positions.

The district's new commission, funded by a \$98,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Education and headed by Phyllis Cheng, will help monitor the newly established agreement.

Bring a Volcano Into Your Classroom

The Mount St. Helens Curriculum Materials Project has, in record time, converted real-life explosive drama into teaching materials for the classroom.

Shortly after Mount St. Helens became a household word across the U.S., two Washington newspapers, the *Longview Daily News* and the *Columbian* (Vancouver), began to receive requests for classroom material relating to the dramatic eruptions of the newly active volcano. The papers approached Educational Service District 112, a regional education agency serving the Vancouver-Longview area. The goal: to coordinate a curriculum project to develop appropriate materials.

The first goal of the project was to make materials available to teachers by October 1980. The second goal was to enlist the help of teachers from the affected area to write the materials. Eight teachers, representing all grade levels, worked with the project team, area educators, and representatives of the U.S. Geological Survey, the USDA Forest Service, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Pacific Science Center, and several area universities.

As a result, the project has developed language arts, social studies, and science activities that focus on Mount St. Helens; the materials include an elementary teacher guide, a middle school/high school guide, and a student tabloid in newspaper format. The tabloid, titled *Mount St. Helens!*, contains news articles, graphs, maps, and photos (both black-and-white and color).

Copy masters with student activity sug-

gestions for each section of the tabloid are included in the two teacher editions. These activities are accompanied by objectives, teaching suggestions, overhead masters, and resource materials.

For more information, write John Pope, Project Director, Mount St. Helens Curriculum Materials Project, Educational Service District No. 112, 1313 N.E. 134th St., Vancouver, WA 98665.

Here's How Some Educators Want the Future to Look

Here's a peek into the future, as seen by a group of 1,800 educators in the Pacific Northwest surveyed by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory (NWREL). The lab asked the educators,

Kappan Is Hiring Assistant Editor

Applications for assistant editor of the *Phi Delta Kappan*, as announced in the September issue, are being accepted until October 15. The new editor will be expected to assume his/her duties on or about 1 January 1981.

The assistant editor's duties will include rewriting, copy editing, proofreading, and some feature writing. He or she will also serve as *Kappan* permissions editor. Previous study and experience in both journalism and education are desired. Salary will depend upon the candidate's qualifications, with a \$14,000 maximum to begin, plus generous fringe benefits.

Applications should be sent to Robert W. Cole, Jr., Managing Editor, *Phi Delta Kappa*, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. Include complete résumé and at least three references.

in 10 cases, to choose the item that best described the future as they thought it should be. Their replies:

1) School consolidation should be decreased (59%). 2) Discipline should be stricter (84%). 3) Individualized educational plans should not be used with students other than the handicapped (62%). 4) There should be limited use of computers in education (56%). 5) High schools should pay more attention to the three Rs and less attention to interdisciplinary studies (51%). 6) Schools should offer more help to problem students (50%, with 47% against such assistance and 3% undecided). 7) There should be much more state funding of education (65%). 8) Schools of the future should cooperate much more with business and labor in providing career and vocational education (63%). 9) Future curriculum and instruction should be more goal based, with defined written outcomes for all levels (71%). 10) Vouchers should not be available to allow parental choice of schools (57%).

Soviets Far Ahead in Math, Science Training

Ninety-eight percent of Soviet students complete secondary school, compared with 75% of U.S. students, claims a report by Izaak Wirszup, a University of Chicago mathematician, who adds that recent far-reaching changes in the Soviet educational system portend "the beginning of a determined drive to achieve scientific and technological supremacy."

Virtually all Soviet students complete 10 years of compulsory schooling in mathematics, including three years of arithmetic (grades 1-3); two years of arithmetic combined with algebra (grades 4-5); five years of algebra (grades 6-10); 10 years of geometry (intuitive geometry in grades 1-5, plane geometry in grades 6-8, and solid in grades 9-10); and two years of calculus.

Wirszup's report also notes that all Soviet general education students are required to complete five years of physics (including an introduction to Einstein's special theory of relativity), four years of chemistry, one year of astronomy, 5½ years of biology, five years of geography, three years of mechanical drawing, and 10 years of workshop training.

By comparison, studies by the National Science Foundation have shown that only 9% of American high school graduates have had one year of physics, 16% one year of chemistry, 45% one year of biology, and 7% one year of general science. Over 56% of the school districts responding to an NSF study for the 1976-77 school year said they required no mathematics courses, or only one, for graduation from high school.

Note This Gallup Poll Omission

In September the *Kappan* published, for the 11th consecutive year, the Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools. Only after the issue had gone to press was it discovered that a brief but important table had been omitted from the poll. That table — which compares the ratings of the public schools given by people with no children in school, with children in public schools, and with children in parochial schools — should have appeared on page 35 of the September *Kappan*, as follows:

	A	B	C	D	F	Don't Know
National totals	10	25	29	12	6	18
No children in school	8	23	28	11	7	23
Public school parents	13	33	31	12	4	7
Parochial school parents	11	23	23	19	12	12

Special Issue/Teacher Education: Time for Reform?

teachers during the period, 2) the disillusionment within society with what can be accomplished by investing in education, and 3) the fading faith in the American dream as government seems unable to reform itself or to cope with crises as they occur. Many of the problems of the Thirties and the Eighties are similar (reces-

sion, unemployment, social disorientation), but the solution to the problems of the Thirties — more government initiative and involvement in human affairs — seems less promising to us in the Eighties.

1. E. S. Evenden, *National Survey of Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education,

1933).

2. C. Emily Feistritzer, Rhonda J. McMillan, and Carol J. Lewis, *The 1980 Report on Educational Personnel Development* (Washington, D.C.: Feistritzer Publications, 1980), p. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

5. Linda Wertsch, "Tough Screening Pays Off," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 3 June 1980, pp. 6, 7. □

The Outrageous Underfunding Of Teacher Education

by Bruce Peseau and Paul Orr

In 1977-78 it cost only \$927 to instruct a teacher education candidate in the U.S. That was less than half the average cost of collegiate instruction. It was even less than the average in public K-12 schools, which was \$1,400.

Perhaps the most distressing generalization one can make about professional educators is that they tend to accept expanded responsibilities without having the resources to meet them. This characteristic pervades not only public school personnel but the people in teacher education as well. Predictions that declining enrollment in teacher education during the past decade would result in improved balance between resources and missions simply have not been realized. Teacher education programs in major state and land-grant universities, at least, are generally underfinanced. Their mission to discover and apply new knowledge is larger than their budgets.

Let us offer three additional generalizations. First, teacher education is the most massively over-proliferated field in higher education. This fact reflects the profession's unwillingness to define its goals and insist on reasonable support. Second, teacher educators, instead of limiting programs, tend to rearrange inadequate resources, trying to accommodate the preparation needs of education personnel who serve increasingly diverse pupil needs. As a result, public school people now believe they must operate their own staff development programs rather than rely on higher education. Third, the public is disenchanted with education at all levels. Yet the public wants more education for less money. It

clamors for greater competence among those entering or continuing in the profession, with no awareness of the financial support given teacher education versus that given other university programs.

One of the most frustrating tasks for researchers is accurate comparison of the costs of educating students in different disciplines. Not only does each college or university have its own budgeting and accounting system, but schools and divisions within an institution may also use different systems. As a result of incompatible systems, planned vagueness, and variations in what expenses are charged to cost centers, studies of the details of financing higher education tend to produce more questions than answers. Adequate data are now available, however, to document some alarming indicators about the status of funding for teacher education programs.

We have known for some time that funds are distributed inequitably among university programs. Formulas used today by 38 states to guide these allocations vary, but most are based to some extent on the Texas formula. In the Texas formula, a complexity index was developed for each academic subdivision at three levels: undergraduate, master's, and post-master's. At the undergraduate level the lowest of the complexity indexes is 1.00. Teacher education is indexed at 1.04; this contrasts with 1.51 for agriculture, 2.07 for engineering, and 2.74 for nursing. Indexes at the master's level range from 1.75 for law to 5.77 for veterinary medicine. Teacher education is indexed at 2.30; compare that with 3.27 for business and 5.36 for science. Differences at the post-

master's level are even more dramatic. Here teacher education is indexed at 8.79; the index for business is 13.45, agriculture 16.52, nursing and engineering 17.60, fine arts 17.71, and veterinary medicine 20.53.

Our study of 20 universities in 1978 revealed that most states follow the Texas example.¹ That is, they view teacher education programs as less complex than other university programs for funding purposes. Moreover, teacher education programs tend to receive a smaller proportion of the dollars they produce in student credit hours than do other programs. In the nine universities that supplied complete financial data, four teacher education programs were underfunded by 40% or more according to the dollars these programs produced. All nine teacher education programs were underfunded by anywhere from 12% to 62%. We are not urging direct routing of dollars to academic programs that generate those dollars. But we do believe that a better balance must be struck between academic productivity and budgets for teacher education programs.

Productivity in higher education is most frequently gauged by the number of credit hours produced. There are many other indicators, however, both quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative indicators show what teacher education faculty members do, i.e., the responsibilities they shoulder in carrying out the goals and objectives of the school, college, or department of education and of its parent institution. Qualitative indicators show how well faculty carry out

BRUCE PESEAU is associate dean of graduate studies and research, and PAUL ORR is dean of the College of Education, University of Alabama. Both are members of the University of Alabama Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa.

these tasks.

Credit hours produced are a quantitative indicator. So are such things as the number of course sections taught, enrollments, the number of contact hours with students, the number of student advisees, student/faculty ratios, budget resources per faculty member, the number of publications, the number of service days provided, the number of degrees of various types awarded, and the value of contracts and grants. Data on such quantitative indicators can be systematically gathered and analyzed to reveal trends within a teacher education program. They can also be used to judge the status of teacher education compared to other academic subdivisions within a university.

Qualitative indicators of academic productivity are more institutionally idiosyncratic. They include such things as ratings of instruction, letters of commendation, publications in refereed journals, the nature of research in progress, reputation within the profession, professional association activities, peer judgments, and national ranking of the program.

Both quantitative and qualitative indicators help to describe the productivity of a teacher education program or that of an individual faculty member. The quantitative indicators tell what faculty members have done; qualitative indicators tell how well it was done. But the distinctions are not always clear-cut. Such factors as student/faculty ratios and budget resources per faculty member have obvious qualitative implications.

Data on both kinds of indicators are necessary, if accreditation teams are to judge accurately whether a given teacher education program has sufficient resources to produce the credit hours, the research and service efforts, and the high-quality graduates necessary for program approval. As Charles M. Chambers has observed:

... [W]henver a development in accreditation is proposed, there is always a certain amount of enthusiasm, in some quarters, that accreditation must become fairer, more rigorous, and more accountable. It is suggested that there be more objective approaches to collecting statistical data which, when weighted with the proper coefficients, will yield a numerical measure of accreditable quality. Such a quantitative approach is devoid of the flexible assessment of quality which accreditation now offers. At best, accreditation must remain a mix of both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of education.

Of course, there is a role for analytic studies. Quantitative factors can help set the frames of reference in which the subjective expertise of the peer educator is brought to bear. This in no sense computerizes accreditation. . . .²

In December 1979 we completed a study of 46 teacher education programs in

major state and land-grant universities.³ Our goal was to begin identifying some quantitative indicators of productivity that might be incorporated into the accreditation process for teacher education. This study produced two major findings: First, university officials who make decisions about funding allocations do not share the beliefs of teacher educators about the role and needs of teacher education programs. Second, both funding and academic productivity vary substantially among teacher education programs, and the ratio of funding to productivity within given programs shows similar variation.

Table 1 shows data from the 29 universities in our study that were able to supply complete data.⁴ Productivity factors include average class size, weighted semester credit hours (WSCH) produced per full-time instructional faculty (FTIF), university budget resources per FTIF, the cost per weighted semester credit hour produced, the cost per undergraduate full-time equivalent student (FTES), and the program mix (percent of weighted credit hours produced by undergraduate, master's, and post-master's levels).

The wide variation in average class size — from 2.89 to 25.34 — probably reflects the fact that the first institution schedules many sections of independent studies,

directed readings, and dissertation research, while the second institution does not. The weighted semester credit hours produced per full-time instructional faculty member ranged from 189 to 1,991 during the 12-month period. Note that the lowest number of credit hours was from the smallest of the 29 programs (Institution 109, with only 250 full-time equivalent students). The institution (No. 348) with the highest number of credit hours per full-time instructional faculty member also had the largest student enrollment, 5,121. The cost per weighted credit hour was highest at Institution 109, which had the smallest enrollment, while the cost at Institution 348 was one of the lowest among these 29 universities.

These data alone do not allow for precise comparisons of faculty productivity from one teacher education program to another. For example, Institutions 241, 550, and 620 have similar numbers of full-time equivalent students: 1,581, 1,594, and 1,608 respectively. This seems to suggest that these teacher education programs are comparable and that their resources (e.g., budgets, faculty positions) should also be comparable. But the three programs differ in weighted program mix. Institutions 241 and 550 produced more than 70% of their weighted semester

Table 1. Productivity Indicators in Teacher Education Programs, Senior State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1977-78*

Inst.	Aver. Class Size	WSCH Produced Per FTIF	Univ. Budget Per FTIF	Cost Per WSCH	Total FTES	Cost per Undergrad. FTES	Weighted Program Mix (UG/M/P-M)
232	10.54	1,267	\$27,511	\$ 28.12	1,762	\$ 844	9/45/46
346	14.68	1,022	26,206	34.96	2,337	1,049	12/34/54
302	NA	1,892	38,305	19.42	3,297	583	20/10/70
539	17.21	1,031	21,566	27.06	1,109	812	22/48/30
306	2.89	296	26,768	94.28	314	2,828	24/25/51
136	NA	995	24,993	24.16	3,116	725	24/17/59
241	12.36	910	23,460	29.57	1,581	887	26/16/58
348	NA	1,991	40,152	22.92	5,121	688	26/18/56
216	18.53	1,100	20,105	20.78	2,370	623	26/16/58
404	NA	1,088	33,194	32.27	3,437	968	28/21/51
550	15.18	1,008	24,274	31.14	1,594	934	28/27/45
323	21.71	1,150	22,132	24.10	1,907	723	28/34/38
530	NA	935	25,577	29.14	2,960	874	30/15/55
515	3.46	1,407	28,738	30.16	2,420	905	30/24/46
225	18.09	765	20,703	NA	1,068	—	31/30/39
203	NA	631	28,753	36.81	814	1,104	33/47/20
524	23.65	405	16,987	43.93	866	1,318	33/63/4
644	12.73	759	20,928	41.17	643	1,235	35/57/8
412	NA	1,101	NA	19.26	3,609	578	35/25/40
109	3.29	189	25,326	152.88	230	4,586	39/45/16
449	5.23	536	25,237	45.01	1,871	1,350	41/21/35
517	19.46	1,193	23,273	30.13	2,184	904	44/21/35
535	16.63	1,365	18,193	23.50	2,872	705	45/12/43
643	20.92	981	25,667	28.17	7,589	845	46/35/19
542	22.37	626	24,120	37.89	1,417	1,137	46/35/19
218	16.51	763	22,268	26.26	1,352	788	49/27/24
620	7.87	906	26,779	31.64	1,608	949	61/27/12
311	25.34	789	27,276	36.20	3,036	1,086	69/20/11
326	14.03	576	31,285	84.77	1,026	2,543	70/ 2/28

*Institutions are ranked by percentage of program mix at the master's and post-master's levels. All data from quarter-system institutions were transformed to semester equivalents by multiplying by a factor of .667.

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credit hours during the 1977-78 academic year at the graduate level; Institution 620 produced only 39% at this level. Moreover, Institution 241 produced 58% of its WSCH at the post-master's level, while Institution 550 produced 45% and Institution 620 produced only 12% at this level.

Nor are there consistently direct relationships within the data for a given institution. Institutions 302 and 348 are good examples. They have the highest numbers of weighted credit hours produced per full-time faculty member (1,892 and 1,991 respectively) and the highest levels of university funding per faculty member (\$38,305 and \$40,152 respectively). Yet their costs per weighted credit hour are among the lowest (\$19.42 for Institution 302, \$22.92 for Institution 348), and so are their costs per year of undergraduate instruction (\$583 and \$688 respectively). Moreover, Institutions 302 and 348 produce among the highest proportions of graduate credit hours in their program mixes. Obviously, university funds at these institutions must support faculty time for research, advising, service, and other nonteaching activities. It is also clear from these data that the increased complexity of graduate programs

requires significantly more resources for some teacher education programs than for others.

If the data do not allow precise comparisons between and among teacher education programs, they do make one thing apparent. Teacher education programs with higher enrollments are less costly than smaller programs. Analysis of the cost per academic year of undergraduate instruction shows obvious economies of scale. Table 2 shows the 29 institutions clustered by size of enrollment, using increments of 500 students. With the exception of the first cluster, the average cost per student shows a linear relationship.

But the most staggering finding from our study was that the average cost per academic year of instruction in teacher education was only \$927. During that same year (1977-78) the average national per-pupil expenditure in U.S. public schools was \$1,400. One year later, in 1978-79, the average expenditure per full-time equivalent student in higher education was \$2,363. Although these data are not derived from the same base, they are nonetheless alarming.

The weighting factors used in higher education funding formulas recognize

that some programs are more complex and costly than others. Does it not follow that undergraduate college or university preparation is more costly than K-12 schooling? Yet among our 29 institutions the annual cost per student was as little as \$578, less than half the cost per public school pupil. Can teacher education programs that aspire to prepare high-quality personnel for U.S. schools reasonably expect to fulfill their mission under such financial constraints?

We are calling for a collective effort by teacher educators, classroom teachers, and teacher associations to assure that teacher education gets its fair share of the resources available for academic programs in higher education. Teacher education is as important and complex a task as preparation for any other profession, from designing aircraft and bridges to healing sick youngsters or pets. Collectively, we must push for accreditation standards that include some quantitative funding minimums below which programs will not be approved. Meanwhile, we must communicate more effectively the worth of teacher education within the family of higher education specializations.

Classroom teachers and teacher associations must be educated to the needs and condition of teacher education. Both teacher education and the teaching profession will gain from such a coalition.

Table 2. Cost per Undergraduate per Academic Year by Stratified Program Size, 1977-78

Inst.	WSCH/ FTIF	Aver. Class Size	FTES	Cost per Undergrad. FTES per Year	Aver. FTES Cost of Group
348	1,991	NA	2,855	\$ 688	
311	789	25	2,532	1,086	\$ 875
412	1,101	NA	2,205	578	
535	1,365	17	2,128	705	640
404	1,088	NA	1,934	918	
530	935	NA	1,817	874	
302	1,892	NA	1,683	583	
136	995	NA	1,639	725	
517	1,193	19	1,536	904	815
515	1,407	3	1,382	905	
216	1,100	19	1,315	623	
620	906	8	1,246	949	
449	636	5	1,073	1,350	
643	981	21	1,044	845	921
323	1,150	22	984	723	
218	763	17	957	788	
542	626	22	941	1,137	
326	576	14	936	2,543	
241	910	12	877	887	
550	1,008	15	948	934	
346	1,022	15	687	1,049	1,157
203	631	24	425	1,104	
524	405	24	412	1,318	
232	1,267	11	361	844	
644	759	13	328	1,235	
539	1,031	17	199	812	
306	296	3	156	2,828	
109	189	3	144	4,586	1,474

1. Bruce Peseau and Paul Orr, "A Resource Guide for Teacher Education Budget Planning" (University, Ala.: College of Education, University of Alabama, 1978).

2. Charles M. Chambers, "What Have We Learned?," in *Evaluating Educational Quality: A Conference Summary* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Postsecondary Accreditation, 1979), pp. 30, 31.

3. Bruce Peseau and Paul Orr, "An Academic and Financial Study of Teacher Education Programs Through the Doctoral Level in Public State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges" (University, Ala.: College of Education, University of Alabama, 1979). This study was supported by the Association of Colleges and Schools of Education in State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. Participating universities included Alabama, Arizona State, Arkansas, Auburn, Colorado State, Cornell, Delaware, Florida, Florida State, Hawaii, Southern Illinois, Kansas State, Kentucky, Louisiana State, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Miami of Ohio, Michigan State, Minnesota/Minneapolis, Mississippi, Missouri in Columbia/Kansas City/St. Louis, Montana, Nevada/Reno, North Carolina, North Carolina State, Ohio State, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oklahoma State, Oregon, Penn State, Pittsburgh, Purdue, Tennessee, Texas, Texas A&M, Texas Tech, Utah State, Virginia, Virginia Tech, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin/Milwaukee.

4. The universities are coded by regions but include Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado State, Delaware, Kansas State, Kentucky, Louisiana State, Maryland, Michigan State, Miami of Ohio, Missouri/Columbia, Missouri/St. Louis, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Carolina State, Nevada/Reno, Ohio State, Oklahoma State, Penn State, Pittsburgh, Purdue, Southern Illinois, Texas, Texas A&M, Utah State, Virginia, Virginia Tech, West Virginia, and Wisconsin/Milwaukee. □